Here begynneth the table of the rubrysshes of the boke of the fayt of armes and of Chyualrye whiche sayd boke is departyd in to foure partyes/

¶ The fyrst partye deuyseth the maner that kynges and prynces oughten to holde in the fayttes of theyr warres and batayllles after thorder of bokes/dictes/and examples of the moste puyssaunt & noble conquerours of the world/ And holde & what maner fayttes ought best to be chosen & the maners that they ought to haue and holde in theyr offices of armes

¶ Item the seconde partye spekyth after Frontyn of cauelacyons & subtyltees of armes whiche he calleth stratagemes of thorder & maner to fyghte & deffende castellis & cytees after Vegece and other auctours/ And to make warre & gyue bataylle in ryuers and in the See/

¶ Item the thyrde parte spekyth of the dooyngs & fyghtes of armes after the lawes & dooyng worship

¶ Item the/iiij/partye spekyth of the dooynges of armes in the fayttes of saufcondyttes/of trewes/of marche/& after of champ of bataylle/that is of fyghtyng within lystes

Here begynneth the Chapytres of the fyrst book/

¶ The fyrst chapitre is the prologue/ in whiche Cristyne excuseth her/to haue dar entrepryse to spelle of so hye matere as is conteyned in thys sayd book/ Capitulo/ pri.

¶ Item holde warres and batayllles emprysed by iuste and treulde quarell and lawde by theyr ryght & droit/is a thyng of iustyce and suffred of god/ Capitulo/ij

¶ Item holde it is not leefful/but only to kynges/ and to soueraygn prynces to emprynse of theyr singuler auctorytee warres and batayllles/ Capitulo/iij

¶ Item the conteractyons & degrees that the kyng or ony
ueraygn prince ought to haue in entreprysyng warre/ & the
the maneres that they ought to holde before that they attempte
and conclude/ Capitulo xxxiij to

¶ Item it is not expedyēt that the kynge or soueraygn prince
or ought to goo in hys propre persone to the batayle for the
perilles of the aduerse fortune Capitulo xxxiiij

¶ Item what Constable ought to be chosen for to be mayn
ster of the chyualrie of the kyng or soueraygn prynce/ and of
the condycyons that he ought to haue Capitulo xxxv

¶ Item some auctours alledge to purpos of the poeterye of ar
mes/ wherby they haue spoken/ and the maneres wherby
the valyaunt conquerours helden Capitulo xxxvi

¶ Of the maners that thaūcyent knyghtes helden to teche &
enseygne theyr childreen in the doctryne of armes/ Capitulo xxxvij

¶ Item yet he speketh of thesame/ and the thynges of ar
mes in whiche he enseygneth & techyth the chyldren of the
comyn peple/ Capitulo xxxviij

¶ Item of the propretees that men of armes ought to ha
ue & in whiche they ought to be enformed/ Capitulo xxxix

¶ Item of the maners that belongen to a good Constable
or captayne to holde in his offyce/ Capitulo xl

¶ Item of the maneer that belongeth to a Captayne to
holde in the fayer to lodge his hoost after the lohes of ar
mes Capitulo xli

¶ Item of thesame/ Capitulo xlij

¶ Item here deuyseth yf it be nede that the captayne ought
to hame/ to take hede vpon his hoost/ Capitulo xliij

¶ Item the maneer that the captayne ought to holde in

dysplodgyng fro one place to another & by the wayes where he leedeth hys hoost Capi° vbj

¶ Item he speketh for to make an hoost to passe ouer flodes & ryuers Capi° lxbij

¶ Item deuyseth the maners that behouen to the capptayn of an hoost to holde in the tyme whan he supposeth to haue hastely batayll Capi° lxbij° Note

¶ Item the maners that a captayn ought to holde yf it happen that he will departe fro the felde without tabyde and gyue batayll Capi° lxix Note

¶ Item it deuyseth how yf the captayne of thoost falleth in to treatye of peas or of treuwes with hys enemyes ought to kepe hym fro the perylls Capi° lxi° Note

¶ Item the maners that the captayn of thoost ought to kepe the day that he hopeth to haue the batayll C lxxj Note

¶ Item deuyseth after Vegece the maners to take thauantage of the felde Capi° lxxij Note

¶ It deuiseth in short the maners after the vsage of the time present to arraynge the hoost in the felde for to fight C lxxiij

¶ Item he sayth yet after Vegece and thaucyents thordre for to arrenge bataylles Capi° lxxiij

¶ Item deuyseth after Vegece seuen maners of arraynging an hoost and to fyghte Capi° lxxb

¶ Item of the same Capi° lxxbj

¶ It the ordre & maner that the captayne ought to holde whan gode fortune is for hym in the batayll capi° lxxbij Note

¶ Item the ordre & maner that the captain ought to holde whan the fortune of the batayll is ayenst hym capi° lxxbiij Note

¶ Item a recapitulacyon shortly of some thyngis of the ordres above sayd capi° lxxix

Explicit

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

Here begynneth the book of faytes of armes & of Chyualrye/And the first chaptre is the prologue/in whiche xpryſtyne of pyſe excuſeth hir ſelf to haue dar enterpryſe to ſpeke of ſo hye matere as is conteyned in this ſayd book

¶ Capitulum primum

By cauſe that hardynes is ſo moche neceſſarye to entrepryſe hye thynges/ whiche without that ſhold neu be enpryſes That ſame is conuenable to me at this preſent werke to put it forth wi thout other thyng/ Seen the lytylhed of my per ſone/whiche I knowe not digne ne worthy to treate of ſo hye matere/ne durſt not only thynke what blame hardynes cauſeth whan ſhe is folyſſh/I thēne nothyng moeued by ar rogaūce in folyſſh preſūpcion / but admoneſted of very af fection & good deſyre of noble men in thoffyce of armes/am eyorted after myne other eſcriptures paſſed/lyke as he that hath to forn beten down many ſtrōge edyfices/is more hardy to charge hym ſelf defye or to bete down a caſtell or forteresſe whan he feleth hym ſelf garnyſſhed of conuenable ſtuffe therto neceſſarye/ Thenne to enterpryſe to ſpeke in this preſēt book of the right honorable offyce of armes & of Chyualrye/as wel in thynges whiche therto ben conuenyent/as in droytes whyche therto be appertenaunt/lyke as the lawes & dyuerſe auctours declaren it/to the purpoos/I haue aſſēbled the ma ters & gadred in dyuerſe bokes for to produce myne ētencīō in this preſent volume/But as it appertayneth this matere to be more executed by fayt of dyligēce & witte/than by ſub tyltees of wordes poliſſhed/and alſo conſidered that they that ben exerciſyng & experte in tharte of chyualrye be not comune ly clerkys ne inſtructe in ſcience of langage/ I entende not to treate/but to the moſt playn and entendible langage that

MVSEVM

I ſhal moeue/to that ende that the doctryne gyuen by ma-
ny auctors/whiche by the helpe of god I purpoſe to declare
in this preſent boke/may be to alle men clere & entendible/
And by cauſe that this is thyng not accuſtomed & out of
vſage to woymen / whiche comynly do not entermete but to
ſpynne on the diſtaf & ocupie theim in thynges of houſhold/
I ſupplye humbly to the ſaid right hie offyce and noble ſta-
te of chyualrye/that in contemplacion of theyr lady mynerue
born of the centre of grece/whome the auctpents for hir grete
connyng reputeden a goddeſſe the whiche fōde lykie as olde wry
tyngis ſayē/and as I haue other tymes ſayd/And alſo the
poete boece recyteth in his boke of clere & noble wōmen/and
ſemblably recyten many other/the arte & manere to make har
noys of yron & ſteel/whiche woyl not haue ne take it for none
euyl/yf I a woman charge my ſelf to treate of ſo lykie a ma-
tere/but woyl enſeme thēſeignemēt & techyng of ſenekie whi
che ſaith/reteche the not what they ſaye/ſoo that the wordes
be good/And therfore & to purpos in manere poetykie/ it
plaiſeth me tadreſſe ſuche a prayer to the foreſayd lady / O
mynerue goddeſſe of armes & of chyualrye/whiche by vertue
of hye entēdemēt/aboue alle other woymē fōdeſt & inſtituteſt
emōge thother noble artes & ſciēces whiche of the boke theiz be
gynnyng thuſage to forge of yrō & ſteel/armoures & harnois
ppice & couenable to couure & targe the body of man agaynſt
the ſtrokes of dartes/noyous ſhotte & ſperes in bataylle fayt
tes of armes/helmes/ſheldes/targes/& other harnoys defēſa-
ble fro the firſt comen/inſtituteſt & gaueſt manere & ordre to
arēge batailles/& taſſaille & fight in manere/Adoured lady
& hie goddeſſe be thou not diſpleaſed that I ſymple & lytyl wo
mā lykie as nothyng vnto the gretenes of thy renōmee in
connyng/dare preſently compryſe to ſpeke of ſo magnyfike

ay offyce as is thoffice of armes/ Of whiche fyrst ī the said renomed contree of grece thou gauest thusage/ And in so moche it may plaise the to be to me fauorable/ that I may be somwhat consonaūt in the nacyō where thou was born whi che as thēne was named the grete grece/ the contree beyōde ÿ alpes or mōtaygnes/ whiche now is sayd puylle & calabre in ytalye where ÿ were born/ & I am as ÿ were/ a woomā ytalien ¶ Here sheweth how warres & batailles empriſed by Juſte quarelle/ moened in their right & droit/ is thyng of Juſtice & ſuffred of god ¶ Capitulo ij°

Whaton the Vayllaūt cōbataūt or fyghtar/ by whos force and strēgthe of armes/ the romayns had many fayr victoryes/ & whiche neuer in bataill was dyſcōfyted ſayth that it ought more to haue proffyted to the comyn weele/ the worthyng of rules/ techynges and dyſcypline of armes whi che he had cōpoſed & made in a folie/ than in ony thynge that he euer had doō with his body/ for he ſaith alle that euer that a man may doo/ endureth not but one age/ But that whiche is worthy endureth to the comyn prouffit eūmore/ by whiche Innumerable men may the more auaylle/ ſo is it thenne by this reaſon proued/ that it is not a thynge of lytyl prouffyt for to worthe & make bookes/ But to thende that this preſēt werke by ſom̄ enuyous myght be reprocched ſayeng that it is but ydlenes & loſſe of tyme as to treate of thynges not laudefull/ firſt it is to wyte yf warres & batayllles/ chyualrye & faytes of armes of whiche thynge we hope to ſpeke/ it is or not/ o thynge iuſte/ for as in exercyſing of armes ben doon many grete euyllis/ extorcyons/ & grieues/ lyke as occiſiōs rauayne by forces/ to brēne by fyre & infenyte harmes may ſeme to ſom̄e that warres & batayllles ſhold be acurſed thyng & not due/ And therfore to anſwere to this queſtiō/ it is to

vote/that it appiereth manyfestly that vvarres ꝑpysed by iuste cause be permysed & suffred of god/lykie as we haue fo vnden in ỹ holy scrypture in many places/how our lord hym self ordeyned to captaynes of hostes that vvhiche they shold doo ayenst theyr enemyes/lykie as it is voreton of one that vvas called Jhus/to vvhom he saide that he shold ordeyne hym to batayle ayenst his enemyes/& made an enbusshe for the better to vaynquisshe theym/And of other mo vve semblably is vvryten/And also the holy escripture saith of god that he is fiers & gouernour of hoostis & batayllcs/ And vvarre & batail vvhiche is made by iuste quarell is none other thing but right execucon of iustyce/for to gyue the right/there as it appertayneth/and to this accordeth the lavve deuyne/& sẽ: blably the lavves ordeyned of mey for to represse the arvvga unts & malefactours/& as touchyng the harmes & euyllis that ley doon aboue the right & droyt of vvarre/lykie as other auctours sayen/that cometh nothyng of the right of vvarre but by euylnes of the ꝑple ỹ vsen it euyl lykie as J hope by the aide of god to touche here after vvhere as it shal falle vvhe re as J shal spekie of thynges lympted after the lavves and droit canon in the execrsyte of armes

¶ Here it deuyseth how it is not leefful but to kynges & so uerayn princes to empryse vvarre or batayllcs of their sigu ler auctorite/agaynst ony vvhat someuer they be/¶ Ca° iij

How haue we in this first chapytre touched shortly how vvarres & batailles by good right ꝑpysed is a thyng iuste/ thẽne is it to be takie hede syth they be of right/it appre teyneth to euery man to doo iuste & rightful vverkie /yf it be leeful to ony persone to empryse vvarre for to kepe his right thẽne it shold seme by this reson that vvithout to mespryse euery man may so doo it/But for to declare the vvuthe to/

theym that in this poynt myght erre/it is to wyte that wyth oute to make ony doubte / after the determynacõn of right & of the lawes/it appertayneth to none to ẽprise warre or batayll for ony manēr cause/but yf it be to princes souerayn lyke as emperours kynges/dukes/& other lordes temporall whiche ben merely principall hedes of Jurediction temporall ne to a baron what someuer he be ne to ony other be he neuer so grete without lycēce/cõgie & volente of hys souerayn lord and that this lawe is of right / manyfeste reason sheweth it ynowh/for yf it shold be other wyse/wherof thēne shold serue princes souerayne/whiche for none other thyng were establysshed but for to doo right to euerych of their subgettis that shold be oppressed for ony extorcīõ & for to deffēde & kepe them lyke as the good sheppard exposeth his lyf for his sheep / & therfor oweth the subgette to resorte to the lorde as to his refuge/whan ony grief is doon to hym/& the good lord shal take his armes for hym yf it be nede/that is to saye he shal helpe with his power to kepe his good right/be it by waye of Justyce or by execucyon of Armes

¶ Here is deuysed what ben the mouemens wherof fyrst sourden warres and bataylles ¶ Capitulo iiij°

Thēne appertayneth it onely vnto souerayn princes tẽ treprise warres & bataylles/now is it for be taken hede for what causes after the lawe ought to be ẽprised or mayntened warres & in this wel aduysed/me semeth that co mynly fyue principal moeuyngis ther be vpon whiche they be founded of whome the thre ben of the lawe & droyt/& the other of wyll/The first of the lawe wherfor ought to be enprysed or mayntened warre is for to sustayne right & iustice The seconde for to withstonde the euyl that wold dyspoyle grieue/& oppresse the londe the contree & the people/and the threde

for to recouure/londes/seignoryes/or other thynges/by other
talien & vsurped by iniuste cause/whyche to the prince or to
the iurisdicon of the cõtree or of the subgettes ought to ap
perteyne Item of the two of warre/that one is for cause of ve
geãce for some grief receyued of other/that other for to con
quere & gete londes & estrauge seignouries / But for more
particulerly to declare/first & by especyal the first of the thre
whiche is of iustice/it ought to be knowen/that ther ben thre
pryncypal causes by the whiche it is leefful to a kynge or a
prynce to entrepryse or susteyne armes/warre/or bataylles
The first is for to kepe & susteyne the chirche & his patrimo
ny ayeust all men that wold defoule it/as all crysten pryn:
ces ben holden/The seconde for his vassale/ yf he be requyred
in caas that he haue iuste quarell/& that the sayd prynce ha
ue to fore deuoly endeuoyrd hym to make accorde betwene ỹ
parties/in the whiche thyng thadiũsarye be founde not trea:
table/& the thirde is that the prynce may iustly yf it please
hym to ayde & helpe euery prynce baron or other hys alye or
frende/or ony contre or londe yf he be requyred/in caas that
the quarell be iuste/& in this poynt be cõprised veimen vydo
wes/orphans/& alle them that may haue necessite/of what
parte that they be wronged of ony others power / for this
cause & seblably for the other tweyne a fore said moeuynges
that is to wite that one to withstonde the euyl And that
other for to recouure his proyre thynges loste/is not onely
leefful to a prynce to moeue warre or to maintene it/but it
is to hym pure dette to make it by oblygacõn of tytle of sei:
gnourie & iurediccon / yf he wyll vse it after rightful duete/
but as touchyng the other ỹ pointes/that is to wyte that
ne for vengeãce of some grief receyued by power & myght
of anyother/ & that other for to gete straũge londes wythout

to haue ony tytle/what ſomeuer the conquerours/ alexandre the romayns & other be mocke preyſed in the tytles of chyualrye/ & ſemblably they that gretly be vengid on their enemyes be it wel or euyl/ & what comynly therin is doon I fynde not in lawe deuyne ne other ſcripture/ that for thyſe two cauſes without other moeuyng/ is lawful to empryſe vpon criſten men warre or batayll/ but wel the contrarye for by the lawe of god/ it appertayneth not to a man onely to take ne vſurpe nothyng of others/ nor in no wiſe to coueite it/ & ſemblably ben reſerued to god the vengeances / & nothyng appertayne to man to doo them/ but for more playnly to declare vpon this part/ & anſwere to the queſtions that may be moeued / Trouthe it is/ that it is leeful to a prynce to kepe to hym ſelf the ſame right/ that he ſhold doo to another/ & for as mocke as a iuſte prynce ſhal doo/ ſelyng hym ſelf wrongyd by an others myght & power/ ought he thẽne for to obeye to godes lawe to deporte & forbere without doyng more therto/ forſoth nay/ for that deffendeth iuſtyce/ but the fayte requyreth of ỹ treſpaas pugnycõn & for that werkie iuſtely he ſhal holde this waye/ he ſhall aſſẽble grete counſeyl of wyſemen in his parli amẽt/ or in the counſeil of his ſouerayn yf he be ſubgette/ & he ſhal not onely aſſẽble them of his contree/ to thende that oute be put all ſuſpecõn of fauour/ but alſo of ſtrange contrees that may be knowen not adherent to neyther partye/ as wel auncẽt/ nobles/ as iuriſtes & other/ preſent them ſelf ſhal purpoſe or doo be purpoſed all the trouth & without ony fauour for god may not be deceyued all ſuche right & ſuche wronge that he may haue/ & in concludyng ſhal ſaye ỹ of all he wyll reporte hym & holde to the determynacõn of ryght/ ſhortly for to ſaie by this maniere/ this thynge put in right wel ſeen & diſcutid ſo & by ſuche waye that it appere by true iugement

that he hath iuste cause/ Thene he shal doo somone his aduersarye for to haue of hym restytucon & amendes of thyniures & wronges by hym receyued/ Thene yf it happene/ that ỹ said aduersarye delyuer deffences & wyll crayntaye it/ that he be entierly herd without fauour to hym self in ony wise ne propre wyll ne hayno9 courage/ These thynges & that whiche appertayneth duely made/ in caas that the said aduersarie be foũde refusyng to come to right & lawe/ the prynce may Justely & surely entreprise warre/ the whiche ought not be called Vengeaunce/ but pure execucion of rightful Justyce/

¶ Here ben deuysed the consideracions & regardes that the kynge or prynce ought to haue in the fayte to entreprise warre and the maners that he ought to holde/ to fore he conclude the said warre/

¶ Capitulo quinto

Syth it is soo that it is leefful to a prynce entreprise warre & bataylles/ and theym mayntene for the causes a boue said/ And how be it that these thynges be grete & poyssaunt/ as they that touche pryncypally the lyf/ the blood/ thonnour/ and chyuauce of infenyte persones/ wythout whiche regard all byfore the werlie/ ought not to be emprysed/ ne for light moeuynges ne yong wilfes but that it ought to be redoubted emprise nelye warres/ but for to modere hym self we haue ensamples ynowe/ O remẽbre/ that the puissaunce of auffrykie/ ne thorguillo9 cyte of cartage whiche was chief & hed/ and the spaynards/ ne the right puissaũt kyng antyochus lord of a grete parte of the orient/ whiche brought so mocke people to bataylle that it was infenite wyth theyr dredeful olyphaũtes/ ne also the right myghty prynce kynge metridates whiche lorded vpon .xxiiij. contrees/ and also all the world/ but ỹ the right lytil puissauce of romayns myght wel subdue them/ & therfore ought no prynce lightly to put

hym ſelf in perylle whiche is for to be determyned by the deſtri
bucõn of fortune/of whyche no man may knowe to what ſy
de it ſhal tourne/Thẽne it is neceſſarye that the prynce be wy
ſe/or at the leſt wylle vſe the coũſeyl of wyſe men/for plato
ſaith that the wyame or contre is blyſſed & well happy where
the wyſe men gouuerne/and the thoppoſite or contrayre it
is acurſyd & vnhappy lykie as witneſſeth the holy ſcripture
And without faylle ther is nothyng ſo moche neceſſarie to
be cõueyed by wiſedom/as is warre & bataille/lykie as it ſhal
be ſaid her after/for ther is no faulte made in ony caas laſſe
repayrable/than that whiche is executed by armes/& by euyl
gouernyng of bataille what ſhal thẽne doo the wiſe prynce
to whome ſhalbe of neceſſite for ſom̃e of the caas aforeſayd
tempryſe warre or batayllé/firſt to fore all thyng he muſt be
holde & take hede what puiſſaũce or power he hath or may haue
as moche people/as of ſynaũce & money/without the whiche
the two prynceypal thynges to be well garnyſſhid & ſurely it
is folye entrepryſe ony warre/for aboue alle thynges they
ben neceſſarie/& in eſpecial moneye/for who that hath money
ynowh/& wylle enploye it/he ſhal alleway fynde ayde & helpe
of men ynowh/& more than he wolde: wytneſſe of the warres
of ytalie: & in eſpecyal of florence: of venyſe: & other places p̃
whiche comynly fyght more with theyr money than they of
the contree: And therfore wythoute payne: and vnnethe
may they be vaynquyſſhed: And it ſhold more auayle and
be moche better to a prynce: yf he fele hym not well garnyſſ-
hed of treſour or of ryche ſubgettes full of good wyll to ay-
de hym: to make ſomme trayttye with his enemyes: yf he fe
le hym ſelf aſſaylled: Or for to deporte and forbere tempry-
ſe warre: Rather than to begynne yf to mayntene it he
hath not wherwof: For be he all certayn: that yf he entrepry-

ſeth in hope to take more of his ſubgettis than they may
here & aveuſt theyr Voyll/it ſhal encreace the nombre of his
enemyes/ ſo ſholde it be to hym lytil prouffyt for to deſtroye
the ſtrange & ferre enemyes/for to gete pryuee & nygh ene-
myes/for it is to Voite that ỹ prince capitayn ought not deſ-
pyſe noo puyſſaũce of enemyes though it ſeme to hym but ly-
til for he may not knoVe Vhat fortune ỹ other ſhal haue for
hym ſelf/as it is Vreton hoVo ỹ ther Vas a ſhepherd named
Briacus/to Vhom fortune Vas ſo propice/that ſhe helde him
in puiſſaũce Vith grete foyſon of theues & pillyardes Vhiche
he had aſſembled for to make Varre to Vome/Vhiche Vas ſo
myghty by the ſpace of/xxiiij/yere/that he dyde moche grief
to theym/And ofte tymes Vaynquyſſed in bataille/& the re-
mayns myght neuer deſtroye hym/but fynyſſhed his lyf by
one of his oVen men Vhiche ſleVe hym/and therfor to then
de that he be not deceyued he ſhal aſſẽble to counſeil the foure
eſtates of his contree Vhiche ought to be called or he empri-
ſe ſo chargeable a thyng/ỹ is to Voite thaũcyen nobles exper
te in armes Vhiche knoVe Vhat the fayt of Varre moun-
teth/Item the clerkes legyſtes/by cauſe that ĩ the laVes ben
declared alle the caaſis of Vhom ought to ſourde iuſte Varre
as many enſamples Ve haue to this purpoos/ Item the
bourgeiſes by cauſe it is of neceſſite and by cauſe they parte
in the myſe and treſour Vhiche therto by houeth as ſaid is/
and that they take hede to the fortificacõn of toVnes cytees
and enduyre the mene people to ayde theyr lord/ Item ſome
of the men of Craſte for more to honoure the ſayd peple/
And that they be the more enclined and the better Voilled to
aide their lord Vith their goodes/of Vhiche thing they ought
alle to be ſVetely prayd/O hoVo is that a proffitable thyng
in ſeygnourye/ Royame/or Cyte to haue true ſubgettis/

& of grete loue/ For they fayll not in bodyes ne in goodes / lyke as it appiered many tymes in rome/whan ỹ treſours of ỹ cyte deſpẽded in grete warres in ſo moche that they had no thynge/ Thẽne the ladies them ſelf of their propre mocõy brought theyr Jewellis & ryche aduurnemens/and with the yr good wylle brought & delyuerd them for to ſocoure to the neceſſite of the toun & cyte/ the whiche afterward were gretely reſtored agayn as good reaſon was/ (And for to holde this waye/ wel ſaaf enſample the good wyſe kyng charles the fyfthe of that name/fader of this that preſently regneth the whiche anon after he had be crowned/ what dyde he as in the age of xxb/ yere/as he beheld that the engliſſh men held euyl the couenaũtes made of the treatye of the peas /whiche he hadde by neceſſite & dyuiſe fortune accorded to theym/ how wel it was to hym right dõmageable/and that not withſtondyng that it was agreed to theym to holde grete parte of the duchye of guyenne & many other londes & ſeignouries in other places in the royaulme of fraũce/ but that ſuffyſed them not / but marched deſolatd & gretued by theyr pryde & ouerwenyng the other contrees neyghbours whiche appertayned nothyng to theym/ſente the ſayd kynge by aduyſe his ambaſſiadours auctoriſed to the duc of laucaſtre ſone of kynge edward of englond & to his people whiche had doen the ſaid oultrage/ that therof he wold ceſſe/& make amẽdes of the grieues & dõmaiges made ſyth the ſaid peas/of whiche thynge ſuche was theffecte/how wel the anſuere was curtoys ynough/ the ſaid ambaſſiadours were ſlayn in that tourney or waye/ wherfore ỹ good wyſe kynge ſeen that by conſtraynt had accorded the diſhonourable peas the whiche englyſſh men euyl held/& for many other reaſons whiche ſhold be ouer longe a thynge to recounte/aſſebled at paryſ

at his parliamẽt the forsaid foure estates/and with them alle the woyse iurysties strangers/as wel of Colloyne the crayas/as of other places suche as he myght haue/and to theym purposed his reasons ayenst thenglysh men demaundyng theyr aduyse/yf he had cause to begynne warre/for without iuste cause/the regarde & deliberacõn emonge theym/and the consente & wylle of his good subgettes in no woyse he wold doo it/at whiche counseyl by long deliberacõn was concluded that he had good & iuste cause to begynne agayn the warre & thus the good woise kynge entreprysed it/in whiche thynge god hath be so moche fauourable to his good right loued be he/with the grete prudence of hym/that alle the londes loste he hath sith recõquerd with ỹ swerde/like as yet it appiereth

¶ Here is deuysed how it is not expedyent that a kyng or souerayn prynce goo in bataylle for the perylles of aduersayre fortune ¶ Capitulo xlj°

Here by the way aforsaid ỹ woyse kynge or prynce shal determyne to werke in the fayte to entreprise warres & bataylles/And for as moche as it is a thynge notayre/that in suche a fayt to begynne/mayntene/& contynue foure princypall thynges/That is to wete ay hed or chief/hardynesse/Stenngthe/and constaunce/without the whyche alle shold goo to confusion/ye yf that onely one of them fayled/nowe it is to see yf it be good that the kynge or souerayn prynce in his propre persone goo to his warre/And be in the bataylle/For as the fayte ought to touche hym more than/ony other/By whiche his presence myght represente the forsayd four thynges/And with this that it is no doubte ỹ his knyghtes & mey of armes & all thoos shold haue the better herte to fyghte/seeyng their lord in ỹ place/redy to lyue & deye with them/without faille for to aswere to this qstion

not Wythstondyng all that ony may saye of the wele & good that myght ensiewe/and that many ensamples shold be foūden of kynges & princes/to whome it is wel takē to be presente in their bataylles/lyk as the kynge alexander in his conquestes/& also many kynges of fraūce/as the kyng clodoneus/charlemayne & ynowe of other/& also charles whi che presently regneth beyng a childe in the age of .viij. yere nerby crowned was in the batayl of wseberk/ayeust the flemyngis/where he had noble victorye/it is not to be delibered ne lightly to be concluded/that the kynge ne souerayn prince goo in his propre psone/and better is it trscheue it/than to goo thyder/alleway reserued som cas that is to write ayeust his owne propre naturel subgettes/in caas that they be rebell to hym/the cause is for as moche as naturally the subget ferreth to offende the magestē of his souerayn lorde/in especyal in his presence/whom they may not denye/what someuer paruerse wylle they haue/that they shold lose hertes and mēbres like as they were vaynquisshed/they seeyng agaīst hym:whome they ought to ayde/and also to be with hym ayeust alle men/and in especyal the confusion is grete ayeust them/And the right is grete for the prynce/whan he is to theym good & not cruell ne tyraunt/But not for what someuer necessite that he see/he ought wel to take hede/ that he be sette so surely in the batayll/that the perill of euyl fortune may not falle vpon his persone/But the reason general wherfore it is not good commynly that he goo to bataill is by cause that none may knowe to what partye god shal gyue the eure of the victorye/wherfore yf the fortune cam ayeust the prynce beyng there in persone/by whiche he take deth be take or flee/that shold not be perdycyon and dishonour only to his sayd persone:but to them of his blood:

& generally to alle his subgettis londe & contrees perdicõn & inſempte inconuenyent/lykie as ynoldoñ may be knowbeen by theyperience of caas ſemblable in this royame/& elbis where late happened/And therfore it is not to be chosen that for the regarde of ſome particuler vtilite is put in aduenture & peril that/of whiche may come inſempte harmes & inconuenyẽtes and therfore a prynce ought not be bylened that therin ſhold be ouer woylly & courageo9/but he ought to be put fro it/and the cauſes & reaſons to hym aſſigned with examples whiche ought to refrayne hym/Conſideryng the right grete peryl/not onely of his perſone as ſaid is but of alle hys ſubgettis & royaulme/And to this purpoos verely may well ſerue for example/the wytte & good gouernaũce of the forſaid wiſe kynge Charles the whiche he not mouyng fro his towne ryal in palays/conquerd agayn alle the londes loſt by his predeceſſours right cheualero9/lykie as the trouthe is manyfeſted/and that it be true to this purpoos/that wytte & diligence be more eppedyent in fayte of warre than in the preſence of the prynce/ſemblably it appiereth by the firſt duc of mylane facer of this that nolo is:the whiche not partyng fro his palays:conquered by his woyſedom as many londes & ſeignouries in lombardie & in the marches:that to the ſeygnourye of a Cyte he attrybued & gate ſo many other that he made it a right grete & notable duchie

¶ Here is deuiſed what conneſtable ought to be chosen for to be maiſtre of the chyualrye of the kynge or prynce:and the condycions that he ought to haue ¶ Cap° viij°

NOld we haue hold the kynge or ſouerayn prynce for the weele and ſurete of the comyn weele ought not light be delyuere ne conclude in hym ſelf to goo in to batayle/The

ne is it to be aduysed to what personnes/ for to one onely
suffyseth not to be cõmysed the fayttes of so grete offyces/
as mayster & conduytours of his chyualrye/ that for hym
& in his name exercyseth the fayt of his warres/ of whiche
thynge without faylle by right to take hede is none other of
more grete regarde/ than to make thelection of theym/ for of
so moche as the exercyce of their offyce passeth in poys & perill
alle other/ of so moche it appertayneth & byhoueth the more co
uenable personnes/ & by especyal ought by grete aduyse to haue
regarde & delyberaciõ to chese hym to whome is comysed ỹ prin
cypal charge aboue alle other/ The whiche offyce the auncyẽs
called duc of bataylles or souerayn maistre of the chyual
rye/ whome we calle now in fraũce Conestable/ And after
in folowyng thusage of fraũce the two marchallis/ vnder ỹ
whiche pryncypall offyces/ ben after sette diuise and many
captaynes of certayn nombre & quantyte of men of armes/
In thelection in especyal of the souerayn maystre of the chy-
ualrye of the prynce/ ought to be aduysed/ that he be a persone
right notable/ especyally in all that whiche behoueth in thyn
ges that requyre armes/ That is to witte/ that by longe expe
ryẽce he be so vsed/ that it be to hym as a naturel craft or mes
tier/ and that the contynuel exercise hath rendred hym a mai
ster of all that whiche byhoueth/ as he whiche by many tymes
hath be founden in diuerses aduentures happened in fayttes
of warre by diuise contrees & nacõns/ For vegece saith that
lengthe of aage/ ne grete nombre of yeres yeue not onely ar
te & maniere of fyghtyng/ but thusage/ So that he be not to
lerne the ordres & maners/ whiche ought to be holden/ in trea
tyng of men of Warre and of Armes/ be it in tyme of
reste/ or in trauayll of Warre/ And that he can mai-
yntene/ lede/ conduyte/ And put in arraye so and in maniere

as it appertayneth for the leste/ And it is to wyte that in the said election ought to be more regarde to the perfection of the sayd thynges/ with the other maners & condicons/ whi: che appertayne to hym/ Than to the gretenes of his lignage & hye blood of his persone/ and alle that he may assẽble to be shalbe moche expedyent/ by cause that of somoche as he shal be more noble of blood/ so moche the more shal he be the mo: re dradde & holde in reuerence/ in his sayd office/ the which thyng is necessary to euery captayn/ for to this purpoos re: counteth Valere/ that the auncyents/ whiche made the grete conquestes/ for to be the more doubted in theyr oostes/ fayg: ned theym to be so grete & so hye in lignage/ that they saide them self parents & kynne to the goddes/ But neuertheles it suffyseth not this onely couenable te/ without the other p: prefrees therfore the regarde of the eliseurs or chefars ought more to pourueye to the wele of thoffyce/ then to the persone For it shold be a thyng moche to be reprened to chese one of hye blood leyng ygnoraũt/ & to sette hym in thoffyce/ in whi: che subtylte/ wysedom/ and long vsage hath ofte more grete nede/ than the quantite of peple or ony other strengthe/ For Cathon saith that of alle other thynges the faultes may be amended / sauf suche that be doon in bataylles/ of the why: che the payne ensiewyth anone the faulte/ For euyl perisshe they that canne not wel deffende/ and to fugityues vnneth or with grete payne cometh agayn the herte to fighte/ Ther fore also with the other forsaid thynges it is necessarie that he be wyse/ of good naturel witte/ as he to whome hath be cõ mysed the knowelege of many thynges/ and that is as chy ef of Justyce & lieutenaunt of the prynce for to doo right to euerich of causes that may happen in caas of armes & feat tes of chyualrye/ of alle them that be vnder hym and also of

ſtraũgers Vohiche ofte happen in dyuerce maners / And it is to Vete that after the ryght of gentilnes and hye nobleſ: ſe of courage appertayneth to a good captayne Vohiche Vſeth theyerſyte of armes / in alle caaſes that may to hym happe: ne of all that gentylnes requyreth yf he Vyl gete honour that is to Vyte that alſo to his enemyes he be ryghtful & Ve rytable in feat & in Jugement Vhere it ſhall falle / And Vo: ith this that he honoure the good & the Valyaũt / in lyke Vy ſe as he Vold be of them honoured / And this maner ſtyde the Valyaũt kyng pirrus of Macedone Vherof he gate grete loos / Vhiche by cauſe he had founde ſo many Valyaũces in the vomayns / ho Vo Vel they Vere his grete enemyes he ho: noured them right gretely / Vhan an ambaſſade cam to hym And alſo theym Vhom he ſleVe in batayllé / he dyde doo burie theym honorably / And of the nobleſſe of this kyng & of his grete fraũchyſe it is yet Vreton / that he had in ſo grete prys the pryſonners Vhiche he had taken in his batayllés / that he Vold not kepe ne reteyne them as pryſõneres / but rendred & deliuerd them all quyte / The maners and condicõns Vhiche belongen to a good conneſtable ben theſe / that he be not teſtyf haſtyf / ſhoot / fell / ne angry / But ameſured and attemporat rightful in iuſtice / benygne in conuerſacõn / of hye mayntene & of lytyl Vordes / Sadde in coũtenaũce / no grete dyſeur of truffes / Verytable in Vorde and promeſſe / hardy : ſure : & dy ligent : not couetyo9 / fiers to his enemyes pyetous to them that be Vainquiſſed / and to them that be Vnder hym he be not lightly angry / ne be not moeued for lytyl occaſion / ne byleue ouer haſtely for lityl apprence / Ne yeue fayth to Vordes Vo hiche haue ne colour of trouthe / ne that he be not curyous of mygnotes / Jolyetes / ne of ieVellis / but be he habylled & arra yed / ryche ly in harnoys & moũtures / & contiene hym fierſly /

Ne be he not slouthful/sluggysh/ne slepy/ne curyous in me
tes & festes in lyf delycate/& in serchyng alleway thestate &
couuyne of his aduisaires/& be he subtyl/pourueyed & wyly
to deffende hym fro theym/& woysely to assaille them/wel ad-
myssed vpon their espies & watches.& that he knowe to gou-
uerne his owen peple & holde in ordre & drede/& to doo right
where he ought to doo it/And that he be not ouer curyous to
playe in noo games/to honoure the good and them that be
worthy/& nygh to hym/& wel to rewarde theym that deser-
ue it/And that he be large & lyberal in caas that it be requy
syte/& that his comyn speche be of armes:of fayttes:of chy-
ualrye and of the valyaūces of good men.And that he ke-
pe hym wel from a vauntyng/& be he louyng hys prynce &
trewe to hym/fauorable to wedowes/to orphans/& to the
poure/ne make grete compt of a lityl trespace doon to his pr
sone/And smale debate to pardone lightly to hym that repen
teth/and aboue all other thyng to loue god & the chyrche &
to sustene & helpe right/Thyse sayd condycōns bylongen to
a good conestable/And by consequent to the marchallis/&
to alle theym of semblable offyces/

¶ Here allegge to purpoos of exercyce of armes some auc
tours whiche herof haue spoken/& the maners whiche helden
the valiaūt aūcyens conquerours in armes/¶ Capi° viij°

After that we haue deuysed what offyceers ought to be
chosen or at leste theym that haue condycōns next and
moste lyke to theym a forsaid/whiche shal be cōmysed capy-
tayns & conduytours of the chyualrye of the prynce or kyn
ge/it bihoueth vs to saye in what werkes & thynges theyr
exercyte shal extende/And by cause that dyuerce auctours
lerne me to spelle whiche haue wreton/I shal produce in to
wytnes theyr sayengis/And pryncypally begece whyche

in the tyme of Valentyne themperour notably/made a propre
boke of the dyſciplyne & arte whiche the right conquerours
helden/whiche brought to ende by wyſedom and vertue of ar
mes/thynges/whiche now in this preſent tyme ſhold ſeme
as Impoſſible And this thynge wel affermeth by hys wor
de/the ſayd kyng pyrrus/whan he had aſſayed & proued the
valyaūce of the romayns/Of whome a lytyl quātyte wyth
ſtood ayeuſt his ooſt/whyche was ſo gurte that they couer
de thenne montaynes & valeyes/Thēne the ſaid kyng pir
rus ſaide/yf I had ſuche knyghtes/I ſhold conquere alle the
world/And by this it is to ſuppoſe/that gurte wytte/ tra
uayll/& propre induſtrye achieuen ſoo hye empryſes as to
conquere the worlde/lyke as dyde the romayns and other cō
querours/of whome the maners/and ordres that they helden
many wyſe men regiſtred them/the whiche thynges for ex
ample to be conformed to theym yf they ſeme good ben for to
be herde propre & expedyent/For the ſaid vegece ſaith/who
that wylle haue peas/lete hym lerne to fyghte/& who loueth
victorye ought to knowe the feat of armes/& the knyghte
that deſireth good aduenture/lete hym fyghte by arte or craf
te/that is to wyte by wyſedom/and not at all aduenture/ &
none dare grieue ne angre him ỹ ſuppoſeth ſhal ſurmoūte or
ouercome yf he be aſſaylled/Soo is it by the gurte conqueſ
tes/ that the auncyens dyde ſomme tyme/that the peple be
not nowe ſo valyaunt/as they were woned to be/ And of
this whome it is a longe/or cauſeth the fornamed vegece
rendrith the reaſon that ſayth/that the longe peas rendryth
the men/whiche herto fore by longe and contynuel trauayl
lis were woned to exerciſe the feat of armes ſette nothyng
by that occupacyon/But nowe ben put in delyte/reſte/and to
couetyſe of money/whiche the noble auncyens preyſed no

thyng but honour of armes/ ne sette nought ther by / And
thus is chyualrye sette in neclygence/ & as it were forgoten
& not raught of/ And he sayd/ the romayns in lyke wyse
which had goten many londes & conquerde / lefte on a tyme
theyr exercyte of armes / which by theyr discontynuaun
ce they were by hanybal prynce of auffrykie desconfyted
in the seconde bataille/ where as they loste all theyr seignou
rye tofore canes in puylle/ which was soo horrible / that al-
most alle they of rome were deed/ And theyr chieuetains ta
kien & destroyed & also the noble chyualrye in so grete quanti
te that after the desconfiture/ hanybal which dyde doo serche
the felde had thre mues / or bussh̄e lis/ all full of rynges of
gold fro theyr fyngres lyke as thistorye saith/ the which he
dyde doo bere in to his contre in signe and Joye of that vyc-
torye/ But after wherme the said exercise of werre was of
the noble auncyents takien vp ayen they allwayes had vic-
torye/ Therfore concludeth the said auctour to the louing &
prayfing of the contynuall exercyse of armes that more pro
fytable is to a kyng or prynce to see his men vsed & wel
taught in the said art and fait of armes holde selue or lytyl
quātite of peple that he hath/ than to take and retreyne vn-
der hym grete foison of strange fouldeours that he knowe-
eth not/ & nothyng so ferme ne stable saith he ne that more
is to be commended than is a contree where foyson of gode
men of armes be wel lerned & taught in all that longeth
to the fayt of werre/ for nethre gold ne siluer nor precyous
stones Baynquysshe nor ouercome not the enemyes nor
make not thenhabyt ans to lyue in peas as doeth & may doo
the might of worthy chyualrye wel taught / And of suche
folie ought not to be Juged after the folysshe sentence of the
kyng Pynytus of gallya or fraunce/ which after he had

enuay/Thed the romayns with/Cxiij/score thousand men ar
med/and sawe hem come ayeust hym with so lytyl a quanty
te/despysed them and sayd that they were not men ynoughe
for to satisffye thappetit of the dogges of his oost/But not
withstandyng was ther men ynoughe for to dystrusse bothe
hym and his grete oost/as is happed soone after lytie as
thystory recounteth/And this for to conferme after the sa;
yng of the said Auctour/we shall first sprie of the doctry;
ne and lore that thauncyent nobles paue vnto theyr chyl;
dren in tyme of theyre youthe/And they shal we retourne
to the matiere of the said chieftain or chieftains of the chy
ualrye/The said Vegece to purpos saith in the first chapy;
tre of his first bokie/We by noon othre meanes nor mane;
re can perceyue ne see/the cyte of rome to haue subdued vnto
her the countrees of the worlde/but by vse of armes and by
techynges of ostes of kny3thode/For al ynoughe may be
presumed/that so small a quantyte of folkie as the romains
were at the first/shuld do lytyl harme to the grete multitude
of frenshmē The voyde of the grekis as Titus liuius saith
dyde resiste ayeust themalyce & strength of them of affrique
And by this we conclude as it is afore said that better is/
a small quantite of folkie vsed and wel taught in fayt of
armes by cōtynuel exercise of al that therof may fall in the
doubtouse happe of batail/than is a grete multytude of rude
folkie nought knowing/for as he saith/ the manere of con;
nyng to knowe that/that in werres & bataylles belongeth
groweth norisseth & gyueth hardynes to fyght/as it is so
that noon doubteth to do that in whiche he feleth hymself ler
ned expert & taught/And al sciences & crafftes are knowen
& lerned by contynuās of vsage/Thus yf it be trouthe saith
Vegece that this be in small thingis/better it behoueth to

kepe the ſame in thynges that ben right greete/O what is it of men vſed & made to the werre and that be ſubtyl in theyr exerſice of armes/with peyne can they be ouercome by noo maner of ſtraunge aduenture that neuer was ſeen before/ As it appiereth that tyme the romayns founde the crafte & the manere for to ſle the multitude of Elephantk that ben ſo greete and ferfull beſtis that bothe men and horſes of theyre ſyghte were affrayed/that the cartagiens and they of parthe had brought ayeuſt theym/ And the wyſe romayns made engyns by the whiche they lanchid & caſt vnto theim ſharp barres of brennyng yron/and thus diſtroyed them/ And therfore ſaith thauctour that of al artes or craftk in a lande more to be comended/is the arte of fighting in exerſice of werre/For by that is the fredom of the lande place or contrey ſurely kept/and the dignite of the prouince is ther by encre aced/and the auncyent worthy men/as it is ſaid ſouerayndy kept the ſame/furſt the greſies and they of lacemodone right valyaunt and ſtrong werryours/And thenne this arte to lerne & vnderſtande aboue al other thing were the romains curyous & fayne/and the fame & honour that enſued theym for the ſame/appiereth and is wel knowen

¶ Here deuyſeth & ſheweth the manere that the noble auntient worthy men kept to thyntroduction & lernyng of theyre childre in the doctrine of faitk of armes ¶ Capi⁹ ix⁹

The auncient noble men thenne that by haultnes of cor rage deſyred al waayes that theyerſiſe of armes ſhuld be contynued/to thende the comyn wele of theyre lordſhipes and cytees ſhulde be the bettre amended and deffended made not theyre children to be norriſſhed in the kyngis & prynces courtk for to lerne pryde/lecherye nor to were waton clothing But dide ſo by cauſe in tyme to come of theyre floworyng

aage myght ſerue the prynce and the countrey in that offyce
that appartayneth to noble men/& had of a cuſtume whan
theyre children were com to/viij/ yere of aage they made hem
to be taught in al ſuche thyng that longueth to knyghthed
and in faites of werre/And is to wite that there were in
certayn places propre ſcoles where they were induced/And
taught to werre harneys & handlyng of ſtaues & deffendyng
and the fayt & the wayes of the ſame/And therfore wyl ye
gece ſay there as he ſpeketh to this purpoos in his fourth
chapitre of his firſt bokie that the noble men ought to pryne
hem ſelf to drawe theyre children in theyre firſt youthe to the
loue of fayttes of armes / for ỹ yong child is able to concey
ne & kepe in mynde that / that men ſhewe to hym / and natu
relly chyldren are glad and wyllyng to tyſe hem ſelf to ſuche
thingis as men ſee/that they wraſtle lepen & playe one with
other moeuing theyre bodyes/So ought thẽne to be ſhewed
Vnto them the tournez of ſwiftnes to caſte & fyghte with bo—
the theyre armes/and the maner how they ſhall glauẽce or
with drathe them ſelf from ỹ ſtrokes that in trauers or ſpy-
lyng may come/ to lepen ouer trenchis or dyches/ to launche or
caſt ſperys & dartes and the waye to couere & ſaue hem ſelf
with theyre ſhildes/ and to doo al other ſemblable thyngis/
And vnto them they ſhewed alſo how in caſtyng of ſperys
or dartes they ſhuld ſett theyre lifte foote a fore/by cauſe in
launchyng ſhakyng or caſtyng that wiche they hold & wold
caſt out of hand the body ſhulde be more ſtedfaſt on the gro
unde & the myght in caſtyng gretter/but as to come hand to
hand for to repulſe or ſhoue forth with ſperys they taught
hem to ſette the right foote afore/by cauſe that the ſtrẽgthe of
ſhouing is at the lifte ſyde of men And for to teche hem bettre
in all thynges to fyghte & to ſaluce / they were oftymes put

in arraye of batailles by theyre maistres/by cause they shuld
knowe by veray vse the condupte and the ordre that ought
to be kept in a bataille/ And all venged in fayre ordonaun-
ce made hem to marche forwardis a quantite of paaces for
to teche hem to kepe hem self clos togidre in gode ordenaunce
without gooyng out or from the wlke of theyre bataille/
And with light staues at the first by cause they schuld not
hurt eche othre/made one partye to salute that othre/ And
to thende that noo rancour ne anger myght not be norrysshed
among hem/they that had the victorye were at another ty-
me putte for to fyght with theym that they so had ouer-
com/ayenst othre/ After this they were putte in certain pla
ces to kepe theym that one place ayenst that other/ And as
theyre bodyly strengthe grew more and more/ they made
hem for to take axes and swerdis and almaner of other we
pens of werre and assayed & forced them self to smyte ay-
enst certayn stakes that for the nones were dressed and the
re made grete appertyses of armes/as hit had be ayenst the-
yre enemy mortall/and al this was/by cause they shuld here
trauailles and be vsed in ablyng of them self And so assaul
ted the stake al a bout glanchyng and tournyng here and
there/and in this manere of assaute toke in hem self streng
the and breth and the manere of fyghtyng and sautyng
they lerned/And as theyre strengthe & age grew /so was
gyuen to theym greter charge and more poysaunt/and na-
mely bygger armures and more heuy staues than thoo that
are vsed in a feld or bataille / by cause that conyn staues
shuld seme to them easy and lyght at a nede/ They lerned
theym also to stryke with a foyne whiche manere of foy-
nyng was first brought in vse by the romains/for they scor
ned them that smote edgelyng /and sayd with pryne myght

one ſhe another after that guyſe/by cauſe the bones that be harde with holdeth and kepeth the ſtrokie/But of a ſoyne is the woounde dedely yf the hed or the body entre the depnes of two yuches/And for this reaſon alſo is the ſtroke of a ſoyne better and ſurer by cauſe he that ſmyteth edgelyng/ in he: uyng vp of bothe his armes ſhewoeth him ſelf naked and bare and diſcouered a long his right ſyde/and this doeth not he that ſmyteth with a ſoyne/but kepeth hym ſelf cloſe as he ſtriketh/and may hurt his enemy/er that other hrue vp his armes for to ſmyte edgelyng/And with all this they exci: ted and taught hem for to bere ſom̃ heuy fardelis all armed as they were for to be the more proper to ſuffre trauaillis and pry ne/and to thende yf nede were/they myght bere with them theyre owne vitaillis/And for this leſſon to conferme/to this purpos ſayth vegece/that nothyng is greuous which of afore is lerned by long vſe/nor ſo heuy a fardell/but that by cuſtome of beryng ſhal ſeme eaſy and lyght/And virgil le in lyke wyſe confermeth theſame vſe/ther as he ſaith that the valyaunt romayns bare of tymes with them they: re neceſſaryes with the fardel of theyre armures/And beſide al thys were ther horſes made of tymbre vpon whiche they lerned to lepe vp of bothe the ſydes all armed from hed to tooe & the ſpere in theyre hand/ to clemme vp with cordes to the wallis lyghtly / to make ladders hem ſelf and ropes knotted for to clemme vp ward ther with all

Yet of theſame Capi.° y.°

In all the forſaid vſages and in othre moo the nobles auoyēt introducted & taught theyr children ſo that by

long contynnace/ with the gode doctryne of ſuche honorable
wordes as they dyde putte in to their courages/ that whan
the verray fait of a batayll came. they were not to ſeke in
noo maniere of point/ but as al lerned and right wyſe made
grat apperty ſes & faities of armes/ Suche doctrine was ne-
ceſſary in the tyme of the grete conqueſtis / and yet expedyēt
& gode hit were in fraunce & in all other landes where as ſom
tyme of nede harnoys & armures ben taken Saluſte to this
purpos ſayth/ The kinyght or men of armes is to be choſen
that from the tyme of his youthe hath lerned the trauayllis
of armes and the maners of batailk/ And that by vſage
can the wyes of kinyghthede/ And better it is ſaith he / to a
yong noble man to eſcuſe hym ſelf of that he hath not yet ler
ned/ than to make ſorowe & mourne in his old age of that
he conde neuer nothyng / wherfore thaunyent prayſed ſo ly-
tel the noble men that coude nothyng/ that they putte no dyf
ference betwene them & the landeſmen/ But moche they ſet
be by the noble men that were worthy & valyaunt/ as it is
knowen by Segece that thus ſaith to the lawdyng and pray
ſyng of them/ O men of grete and laudable merueilles/ that
this noble art and doctryne of kinyghthede / haue ſo longue
ouerſpred/ that of verray kynde hit abydeth ſtyll with you/
Ye ought to be hyghly enhaunced as they without wyche
other men nor the lande can not be deffended ne lyue in pray
Jt is thenne grete auauntage to a ponge man that is wil
lyng to do wel / Whan lothe tyme and place he hath and
power to lerne the arte and ſcyence of armes whyche is not
to be thought of litel importans nor with litel pryne gotten
& to him ſaith he that in ſuche dyſcypline is wel taught/ fere
ne drede of fyghting is to him nothing ayenſt who ſouer
his enemy that it be/ but rather is to hym as a ioye & a delyt

And with this addeth the auctours shewing in what lesson they of the peple were taught/that is to wite in shotyng & casting thith slynges whiche doeth grete ayde to theym that wel can skyl ther with/& was muche vsed by thaunciēt tyme wherfor vegece in prayssing of suche cōnyng saith that how be it a slinge be of noo weyght/it is profytable & namely in sawtyng or fensyng of a forteresse a slynge is good & couenable/whereof they say/that suche manere of shott was somtyme so gretly sett by/that in som Iles of grece/the mo dres gaf no sode to theyre children vnto tyme they had hitte theyre mete with ỹ strokie of the slynge/& also lerned hem to shote with a lōg bowe & with a crossbowe bothe/& theire maistres lerned them to hold their bowe with the lifte hand & to drawe the corde with the right and with grete strengthe vnto there eerys/& that the hede & the eyen they shud see that thing that they wold shote at & that ententyfly shulde take theire marke with gode hede/& in this arte namely englishmen are lerned from theire youg age/wherfor cōtynuelly they passe al othre archers/vegece saith that this manere of arte wyl be continued and ofte exercised namely to the goode maistres/ & that the hamtyng & continuaūce therof be nedefull/cathon saith in his bokie of armes/that gode archers ben mocke profytable in a bataille/& this testifieth claudius that saith that by the archers & they that were taught in the manere of castyng of dartes/ ouercome Alexandres enemyes in dyuerse batailles with a lityl quātite of his peple / & this witnesseth also the noble warryer scipion of affrica/also he taught hem to cast stones to bere shyldis & ỹ manere to cōe with thesame to caste sperris & ỹ wayes to do al suche othre thig & as thauctours sayen dyus & propre maystres were / that by the phizonomye of ỹ yongmen & by the

body they fynde whiche were moost able and more propre to the discypline and teching of armes/as were they of whom the eyen & spirites were open & moeuable / that had a streyght hede a large brest/grete sholders & wel shapen armes long & bygge & wel made/long hādes & of grete bones small fely & the veynes wel formed/bygge thyes / leggis streyght wel shapen full of synewis & drye / brode fete & streyght / but as for the height of the body made noo force/and aboue al other thyng tolde hede to the vigour and courage and to the swiftnes of the body/and to suche yongmen putte theyr maistres theyre besy cure & deligence to teche them the said arte & connyng of armes/and as they sawe hem with theyre ablenes of body/of gode & wyse vnderstāding/they had hem myche dere/and taught & shewed vnto them al thinges that perteyned to the chief captayns of armes/with al this/ they lerned hem for to swīme in ryuers or in see/And saith vege ce that this arte of swīmyng is right couenable to almane: re men of armes as somtyme it is nedefull to them whan strengthe chasseth them to passe ouer watres & ryuers for to eschewe parell or for to shorte theyre wayes/or for som othre nede/as may be/for to com at a certeyn owre there as they wold be/or for to take or com by thees wayes vpon theyre enemyes vnbewarre/and so dide dryue thaucyent theyre ba: gaye harneys & fardels aftre theym by subtyl craft/as vpon pecis of timbre & vpon dye thornes cast in the watre which they ladd al swīmyng aftre them/And by this arte of swī myng may a man of armes eschewe the parel of deth dyuis wayes/as it is writen of iulius cesar ỳ for to warauī his owne lyf sauf dide swīme in ỳ see/ iij/ c passes also ỳ right worthy & preu bataillez cena ỳ romain escaped al alone sore wounded from the grete multitude of his enemyes by his

ſwoimyng ouer a gret ryuer/ and thurgh thees waye of ſwi-
mig were ỹ peple of a caſtell ỹ was beſegid holpē ỹ vitaillis
by theyre frendes that ſwoimed ouer/with all by myght vn
to them not kno wyng theyre enemys of the ſame/ and in
eſpecyal by this art thaūciens ledde theyr beſtis & horſes/ and
for to aſſoyle the rayſon of them that myght ſay/ that ſuche
thingis as aboue ben ſaid/ are light to the ſayeng/ but harde
to the lernyng oure auctour ſaith that how be it al thinges
ſeme dyfficyle to the dyſciple or ſcoler er he can hem/ yf the
maiſtre be tending & diligent of teching ther is noon ſo har
de a connyng/ but that hit wyll be light by long contynuaciō
of hauntyng of the ſame/ And yet in contynuyng the ma-
nieres that the romayns kept ſuche an vſe a monge othre
they had/ that the noble men bare agarment vnlyke to them
that were vnnoble/ and with this was their robes of Jo
ye & robes of ſorowe whiche they were after the fall of thei
re good eure or euyll fortune/ that is to wite/ yf they had
loſt eny grete bataille/ or that ſom lande were rebel vnto
them or ſom grete Jniure doon ayeuſt hem that requyred vē
gence then they tolie & were the robes of ſorowe without o
thre garmēt vpon hem vnto tyme they cam to theyre aboue
& were auēged/ & thēne they tolie agayn theyre robes of ioye
¶ Here deuyſed the proprietes that men of armes ought
to haue & in whiche they ought to be taught ¶ Capi⁹ vj⁹

We haue deuyſed al ynoughe the maners and introduc
cions of fayttes of armes that thaūcyēt gaff to the;
yre children/ the whiche for an enſāple are gode to be kept in
mynde/ and ſo behoueth vs to retourne to that/ that is ſaid
afore/ that is to wite in what thynges the gode & wyſe cap
tayn or his lieutenaūt ſhal aplie hym ſelf/ firſt he ſhal as it is
ſaid afore drawe vnto him al ỹ beſt & mooſt choſen men of az

mes and ſhal cheryſſhe hem/And ſyth it cometh to ſpeke of gode men of armes/Vegece recounteth of the propyetees ỹ belonen vnto theym/and ſaith that with hardynesswithout wyſedõ he may not be ought/muſt be taught & be mayſtre in helping of him ſelf in his harneys & to be in at his eaſe to thende he may lightly aſſayll his enemye/and to be able to lepe lightly ouer a dyche and to clymme yf nede be vpon that that may lette him to entre the lodgis of the aduerſaryes ouer hedgis & ouer trenk yf he ſeeth his tyme/to bowe aſyde forto voyde ỹ ſtrokis by delyuernes of body/and to enuahiſſ he leping vpon his enemyes yf the maner of the batayll requyreth/And ſaith that ſuche maner of apprentyſes abaſſhen the courages of the aduerſaryes & putte hem in a fere and ſo hath thaduantage ouer hem/And thus it hath be full often that one hath had the bettre vpon a ſtronger man than hym ſelf/and ſooner wounded hym that nought was apparelled for to deffende hym ſelf/And of ſuche touches ſayth he/Vſed the grete pompe whan he faught/And yf ye demaunded of me where ſhal the beſt men of armes be taken / I ſay for an anſwere/what so eũ it is ſaid that the men that be in the hote countres nyghe the ſonne hold woyſe that they be ſubtil & malicio9/are not mocke hardy/by cauſe thay haue not foyſon of blode/for cauſe of the grete hete that there halb undeth/& alſo to the contrary/they ſaye that they of ỹ cold cõtrees are hardy & not woyſe / & thus conſequently none of bothe ought not be taken/but they of that lande whiche is betwix bothe tẽperate ought to be taken/but as to me I hold ỹ in this none othre reſſõe ought to be kept/but for to cheſe tho o men that mooſt haue ſeen/and that take mooſt delyte & hane pleſuꝛ in theyerſice of armes/ in whiche labour is they re glorye & theyre Joye ſette/and that none othre felicite nor

worshipp they requyre/but onely that/that may com̄ to them by meane of theyre chyualrouse dedes/ and suche of what nacyō that they be of/are to be taken & receyued/and trouth it is that with thauctours all good witte ought to accorde that yf the captayn hath nede of folke of the comynalte he ought singulerly to chese theym that can̄ som̄ craftes/ as lochers that are wonen to shede bloode & to smyte with axes / carpenters smythes and all other that exercyse theyre bodyes in trauaill and in werkies that be doon by might of mannys hand Also men̄ of the countrey to whome harde lyenge pryne and labour is not straunge & are norysshed of rude fode suche be good to suffre pryne & trauayll / without whiche thyng is not made werre that long is demened & kept/

¶ Here begynneth to speke of the maners that bihoueth to a Constable or cheff captayn in executyng of his office/

¶ Capitulo Duodecimo

IT is so thēne/that the werre delybered & bygonne and by the prynce & souerayne receyued & sent deffyaūce as the guyse is/The voyse captayne that commytted is to the same / shall ordeyne & see first of all that the frontyers & borders be wel garnysshed aswell of gode men of werre/ as of artyllerye of al maner shot & of all othre deffensable necessaryes &/almaner of garnysen of suche quātite as hym shal seme gode aftre the qualyte of the aduersaryes/ And the to wones & fortresses so garnysshed lacke of nothing / he shal aduyse what nombre of men he nedeth for to doo that he hath and shal haue to doo vpon his entrepryse / So shal he chose out amonge all other the best men of armes/and semblably of them that occuppe shotyng gonners and othre vn to the nombre that necessary is for him/ And by cause that nowe commynly it is so taken that that the victorye of

the batayll̄e by reason ought to falle to that partye that more folke are/ Ayeust this oppynyon saithe Vegece/ that it suffyseth for a conyn batayll̄e to lede a legion of gode men of armes with thyr aydes/ A legion of men of armes is in nombre/ vi/ Myll/ lyvi/ that we may so take as we saye for sperys/ And al othre auctours that herof haue written accorden what Vegece/ saying that as in an ouergrete quantite is confusion/ it suffiseth at the moost ayeust al multitude of enemyes two legions without moo of good men of armes so that they be conducted & lad by souerayne ordynaunce whiche be in nombre lytil more than : viij : myll sperys/ And it is founde that many ostes haue be dysconfyted by theyre owne multitude more thenne by the force of theyre enemyes/ and why/ certes a gode reason is therto/ for the grete multitude is more stronge to be kepte & holden in ordre/ & oste falleth to a grete myschefe for hyr grete & prsaūt weyght and is more nedy of vytailles/ more debates be there/ And more long to passe forthe alwaye/ and it happeth often easely that the enemyes/ how wel ȳ they be of litel quantite alwayten to ouercom̄ them as they go thrughe narow passages & ryueres/ And there is the parell for tauaūce nor haste hem selfe they can not but they shal lette eche othre/ and namely in arrē zed batailles they ouerpresse & oūstep one ouer that othre by suche amaiere that they smoldre eche othre/ And therfore as it is said afore/ the auncyent that the thing that be cōuenable to a batayll̄e had taught/ and the perillis shewed by experience/ comended more to haue a litel ost wel tanght than a grete multitude/ The hie cheff captayne shal ordeyne ouer suche folke as he shal haue dyuers captaynes & conestables vndre whom he shal commytte certayn nombre of men of armes/ to som̄ more/ And lesse to som̄ othre after theyre

ſuffyſaunce/and lykewiſe ſhall departe with them his gon
ners laboreres & ſhoteres/And thenne hym ſelf & ſuche as he
hath commyted ſhall ſee them muſtre dyuers tymes in the
feldis that one after that other/There ſhal be take gode hede
that noon be reteyned but he be paſſable ſo that noo fauote be
neythre in his perſone nor in harnoys of what eſtate that
they be/And there ſhal be wyſe comyſſaryes that gode hede
ſhal take/that for couetyſe of the payemēt of the ſouldyours
noo decepcion be made by retenue of ſuche that be vnable/
& from olde tyme were the hede captaynes firſt of all ryght
ſtraytly ſworne/that they feythfully & truly ſhuld ſerue the
prynce or the countre without that for fere of dethe nor for
to eſchewe what ſoemer parell that it were they ſhuld not fle
nor for take the bataille/And they in lykewyſe take the
othes of euery man of armes when they reteyned hym in
wages/Theſe thynges wel & duely made/after that he ſhal
ſee that he haue gode ſurete & aſſignacyon for the payement
of his men of armes for the tyme that he thynketh that this
armee ſhal laſte/For to this ought ſingulerly al cheff capy-
taynes to take gode hede/as to that thyng pryncypall that
may eythre make or deffeate theyre entrepryſe/For noon en
tende for to haue gode men of armes without they be wel
payed/For none ſooner declyneth theyre payement/ but that
theyre corages fayllen

¶ Here deuyſeth the maner that to a chief captayne lon-
geth to kepe/in lodgyng of his oſt/after that the bokes of
armes ſayen. ¶ Capi° viij°

AND yf it be ſo that the ſaid chief captayne goo purpo
ſyngly to aſſemble in bataille with his enemyes of
whiche he awayteth theyre comyng/ wherfor hym nedeth to

kepe the feldis for a ſpace of tyme and to lodge there his oſt
he ſhal aduiſe with a good hede after the ſuppoſyng that he
hathe of commyng of his aduerſaries/to lodge his ooſt in
the beſt woyſe he can/and to take fyrſt yf he may the aduaun
tage of the grounde & the beſt waye for hym ſelf to the hurt
and hynderaunce of his enemyes/And tytus liuius ſayth
that ſom tyme whan they of gallya were goon with they;
re ooſtes vpon the romayns/whiche knowyng theyre com;
myng went ayeuſt them/ & as they firſt toke thaduauntā
ge of the feld and of the place dide lodge hem ſelf in ſuche ma
nere that they were betwix theyre enemyes & the ryuer For
the whiche cauſe they vaynquiſſhed and ouercome theyre en
nemyes more by thurſt/than by armes / And it ſuffyſeth
not to take a gode place in a felde / but ſuche that theyr ene;
myes yf they approche may not chefe for them ſelf ony better
So ſhall he eſtabliſſhe his lodgis to the highſeſt part of the
feld nyghe the ryuere and that noo hille ſhadowe them yf he
may and that the place of theyre lodgis be of gode ayer and
of gode compas yf he may/And after vegece/in a place whe
re paſtures water and wode be/and that the feldys be not
diſpoſyd to kepe rayne water long vpon the erthe/nor where
as to the enemyes myght fall greete ruſſhyng & habondan;
ce of waters by breſtyng of ſom̄ pondes and ſtangs or
ſom̄ ſcluſes/And it is to write that after the quantite of fol
ke and the plente of charyotis & cartis baggage and fardel;
lages muſt be taken the ſpaces of the lodgys in ſuche ma;
nere that a greete multytude be not to nawh ſett/nor alſo mo
re a wide than it nedeth for to be/For of leſſe ſtrengthe they
ſhold be thereby/and ought the cartis and caryage to be ſet;
te wunde a bout Joynyng to gyder/and more fayre is the
lodgys holden whan the place is taken more in lengthe by

the thirde parte than it is in the brede/ And in the myddis ought the place to be fortyffyed mooſt of all / As a ſtrong hold made wyth tymbre yf men may and that nede be / Of wheche the yate ſhal be euyn ayeuſt the fronte of the enemyes/ And other yatis muſt there be/ by whiche the by-taylles ſhall com in/ And Vegece ſayth that many baners ought to be ſette ther vp on high/ and yf the chyef captayne thynketh to kepe his oоſt long there/ he ſhal doo fortifye the place with dyches & palis rounde a bout and wyth cloſurs made of tymbre as it were a caſtell wherin ſhal be hydde the garnyſons/ to the vytayllyng of whiche ought to be pur ueyed/ for byfore al other werkis ryght wyſely and wel/ For as Vegece ſaith more greuous is honger/ than werres / and many thyngis may be borne and ſuffred in an oſt/ but ne-ceſſyte and lacke of mete in a feld hath noo ſuffraunce nor remedye without vitaylle com thyther/ howe be it he ſaith ỹ a boue al thing is couenable to an oоſt ỹ a man contente hym ſelf with a lityl mete/ And therfore the wiſe captayn ought ſo to purueye/ that vitailles faille not or euer the ſiege/ whyche oftymes laſteth lenger than men weene of/ be reyſed or go fro ! For whan thaduerſary feleth the oſt nedy of vitail-lis ſo mocke more ſharp & fers he is ayenſt hem/ & as famy-ſhed thinkie lightly to takie hem/ & for this cauſe it happeth ỹ folkie of an oоſt force them ſelf ſo mocke to takie vitaille one fro that other /& in eſpecyall folkie that kepe a ſiege bifore a fortreſſe doo ſoo/ wherfore gode hede wold be takien / that the dyſpenſatours & vitaillers of the oоſt be not theuys hemſelf & robbe not the oоſt as they by crafty wiles may doo/ for by ſucke alway hath many an oоſt ſuffred emonge grete honger & mocke myſeaſe & grete parell/ wherfore it is gode & wyſely doon to lokie therto /

¶ Yet of the same ¶ Capi. xiiij.

With all the thinges a boue said/ the gode captayne that wyl maynten & kepe his werre iustly ayenst god and truly towardis the world/ ought to endeuoire himself to see his soudyours be payed so wel that they nede not to lyue of noo pillage vpon the contrees of theym that ben theyre frẽ dis/ and by this manere of waye the ooste shal haue noo def faulte/ ¶ For why all manere goodis & vitailles from euery parte shal come thyder/ so that marchaũts may surely come/ & that he make ay ordynaunce vpon peyne of deth that noo thing be taken but it be payed for/ nor nought myssoo to the marchaũt/ whiche nowe wolde god that it were doon so euery where/ grete gode it were and I beleue that al thingis shold therfore come to the better ende/ grete perill is in fayt of werre & in ay ooste whan cruelte of pillage ledeth to hit men of armes more rather/ than doeth the good entent that they shulde haue to kepe the right of theyre partye/ or the honour of knyghthode/ or for to gete preysyng & gode fame/ And suche folke ought better to be called theuis & robbers/ than men of armes or cheualrous/ and this shewed wel the swenshmen that tyme they ouercome the womayns & there grete ooste in batayll vpon the ryuere of the wsne and grete proyes gate vpon hem/ but in tolden that they setted nought by the same/ and that theyre entent was not sett ther vpon/ they tolde all the proyes/ as pylfreys and riche harnoys/ gold siluer and plate & cast all to gyder in the said ryuere/ the whiche thing so doon putte the womains whiche suche another dede had neuer kno wen in grete fere & drede/ The wise captayne thẽne wel purueyed of tho thingis that ben said a boue/ shal not truste onely vpon that/ that his fourragers shall bringe by cause ofte mes they fynde nought to take/ but he shal be puruey ed

bifore his partyng/ not onely of al his garnyſon / but alſo of al vitailles that vpon cartis he ſhal doo carye vyth hym as is corne/ and/ mele/ voynes/ fleſſh/ benes/ ſalt / and vi; naygre refreſſheth to drynke it vith mocke vatre in the ſo; mer vhan vyn failleth and al other thingis conenable that voyſely he ſhal doo to be diſpenſed/ Yet ſaith the bokie of ar; mes that yf the ooſt ſhuld tary long in a place and that a grete puiſſance of enemyes vayteth to come thether / the place ought to be fortyffyed rounde a bout vith gode dyches of/xij/fote depe and/xv/fote brode and as ſtreyght as they can be made at that ſyde of the enemyes/ vyth ſtakes and other thyngis to lette them that vold deſcende for tentes/ but and ſo he ſayth he that the ooſt ſhuld not abyde long or that he avayteth but for a felve folkie/it is noo nede of ſo grete fortyffyeng/but ſuffyſſeth yf men vyl dygge that the dyches be made of/vij/or/ix/fote of depnes and of brede/vij fote/And ought the gode cappytayne to commytte good men of armes vyth gonners and men of ſhot for to kepe and vayte vpon the laborers and voerkimen vhiche ſuche forty; fycacyons are in dooyng/And for to bringe a bout all ſu; che thingis the voyſe captayne ſhal be right vel purueyed of al Inſtrumentis conenables as ſhouillis vyth yron at for ende/ratellis/pyoſis/ſalvis/axes/nayles/vymbrekyns and of al other ferramentis for to make lodgys or for to pyche and dreſſe vp tentes & pauyllons/and of ſuche voerki; men that can gode ſkyle of the ſame/ Not vythſtandyng Vegece ſayth that folkie of ooſtis ought al to be mayſtres hemſelf of kuttyng of vodis and of fellyng doun of gre te trees of makyng of vayes thrugh hedgis and buſſhys/ of bylduyng of lodgis/of makyng of cloyſours of tymber in ſalvyng of vordis and of makyng of brydgis yf nede be/ of

fyllyng of dyches with fagotis and fondellis of rede for to fynde passage / of makyng of ladders & of al suche thyngis And after the said Auctour the auncyent conquerours caryed with hem in theyre oostis forges redy made where were forged and made salatis/ and helmetys / curacys & al other maneer of harnoys / and al suche instrumentys of yron as must be had to make bowes and arowes speres/ dartys & Jauelots/ and suche werkmen that conde skyle in al thees craftys/ And theyre souuerayne care was to see that in theyre oostis al thigis couenable for the same shuld be founde as it were with in a cyte / For to theyre houses they retourned not soone/ Also mynours they lad with them that conde ful craftly digge vnder the erthe for to ouer take the ennemyes vnkewarc/ Wyth this sheweth wegece thoo thyngis that are to be considered for to kepe the oost in gode helthe yf hit must tary long in one place/ Wherof fyue thiges he assygneth therunto/ ỹ is to wite place/ water. tyme medecyne & exercyce/ a place must be chosen fer from euy paluische or marcsgrounde/ and a water that is vnholsome for wolf and styl wythym a dyche full of vermyne ought not to be had/ but must see to/ that in somer tyme they be not duryng the grete hete without shadowyng of trees and pauyllons and noo deffaulte of gode and swete water for them self & for theyre bestis/ Medecyne they must haue/ that is to be garnyssed with notable leches and gode maystres of Syrurgye that shal gyue help and socour to the sykie aswel as they were in a cyte/ And exercyce they must also haue / that is to enure hem self so to peyne and trauayll and to be harde/ that sykines take not hem in tyme of nede for fawte they be not woned therto/ Thus ben they couenable to bataylles that ben acustomed to endure and suffre bothe hete and colde

Hard reſt & ſharp fare for noo thyng can com vnto theym but they haue aſſayed and knowen it afore/ And in thys manere after Vegece the noyſe captayne ſhal do ſett vp hys lodgis where by a gode ordre ſhal ſtabliſh hys captaynes with theyr folkis vndre dyuers baners and ſtandardis as they ſhulde goo to a bataille by the manere and fourme as he ſhalle ordeyne to them/ And he with his men ſhal be in the myddis with his ſtandard dreſſed vp a hyght/

¶ Here deuiſeth of the thought & care that the hed captayn ought to haue to take gode hede vpon his oost ¶ Capi° xv

Amonge the other vertues that ſouerainly ben conuenable to a duc & chief captayne of an oost / is neceſſary that he be a gode man and feythfull/ as by enſaple it is writen of fabricius leder of the romain oost/ that for his grete worthynes and bounte/ the kyng Pirrus his aduerſarye wold haue gyuen him the fourth part of his royalme and of his treſors/ ſo that he wold take his partie and to be hys felawe in armes / To whome he anſwered that ryches by treaſon and malyce goten was to be dyſpyſed ouermoch & that poſſible it was him to be ouercome by armes /but not by vntrouthe nor treaſon/ With this Vegece ſaith that the captayne to whome is cõmytted in hand ſo grete a thyng as is the bayll & charge of the nobleſſe of kynghthode / the drede of the prynce/ the comyn welle of the lande / the ſurete of the cytees and the fortune of the batailles/ ought to take he de not in generall vpon al the oost without moo/ but alſo partyculerly ouer euery perſone/ For yf eny myſhappe fall/ the comyn damage is attributed to his culpe and deffaute/ And therfore the valyaunt duc and chyef captayne of an

oft so commytted & deputed by the prince as it is said shal
endeuoire him self to take gode kepe of al his folke and that
they kepe gode rule in theyre lodgis and doo as they shulde
doo ¶ For the folke sayth that thyse youg esquyers whan they
be in rest ought to dysporte hem self by Waayes of strengthes
of armes/eyuyng by this maneer to vnderestande that they
be bettre plesed Woyth the exercysyce of the same / than Woyth
ydlenes of Which groweth comynly among youg folke that
be to gyder noyse and ryote yf they be not kept in fere of they
re captayne/¶ And for thys cause ought the sage duc to be
ryght curyous in takyng of gode kepe vpon hys peple in
this byhalue/for as the Woyse maistre sayth they that be ryo
tous and full of rancour & anger are perylous in an ooste
Wherfore yf a captayne hath ony so dysposed in his ooste
he ought by Waayes of fayrnes to make hym self quyte of
hem/and not to be rygorous and hoot vpon them as he dys-
chargeth hem Whych shuld cause them to tourne to the other
partye ayenst hym/or to procure and machyne soner euyll
ayenst his ooste/¶ But Woyth fayrenes ought to sende hem
away somewher in feynyng a cause Why Wherfore he doeth
so to them/¶ Nowuere saith the maister that yf nede constrai
neth that suche men be pugnysshed accordyng to theyre ryo-
tous dedis Woith yron/they ought not to be sparyd/for righte
Weisnes Woyl that it be soo to thende that other may take
ensample ther by and for correction of themself / than that
men shold suffre hem to do offence and to hurt oultragi
ously dyuers other men/¶ But yet he saith that the captaynes
of Whom the men of armes are mesurably & sadly demened
by gode rule & by gode doctrine/are more to be prayse / than
thoo Whos men of armes are kept & trayed from malice &
euill/onely for fere to be punysshed for the same/¶ And to this

purpos ſaith thauctour that folkie whiche is gadred out of dyuers placis & of ſtrange nations brynge vp ſom tyme wilfully noyſe/tumulte & debatis in an oſt/And this com: meth oftymes by ſom of them that haue noo wille for to fight which feyne to be angry by cauſe they wel not goo to the batayllé/And this cometh to them for one of two cau: ſes/or ellis for bothe/that is to witte/by cauſe that either they are bettre willing to that other ptie of theyre enemyes/or ellis by cauſe they be wont to be ydle & to lyue wantonly/& therfore the grieuouſnes of the trauepl in which they be not enured with afore/is ſore noyouſe vnto them/& the folkis ſaien that right grete worſhippe it is to a captayn when his peple ruleth themſelf couenably in an ooſt/& to this purpos it is ſaid/that whan cymares the meſſager of kyng pirrus was ſent in to the ooſt of the romains for to treate of pees with theim/he foude the knightis there of ſoo high a maner & noble mayntyen/y he reported by them & ſaid/that he had ſeen an ooſt all of kingis thus the wiſe captayn that of all thingis ſhal be purueied ſhal take gode hede to ſee that thrugh his fawte nothing be lefte y is to be thought vpon or to be doon/not lōg ſlepe ſhal he take/but a litel & meſurable reſt for out of a courageous herte in what thing that it is ſette vnto/cōmeth the grete labour of/he ſhal be therfore curiouſe & diligēt to ſende for the here & there his eſpies ſubtylli for to enquere & vnderſtāde y purpos of his enemyes & what they re may be/& by theire reporte made vnto him what folki in nombre his enemyes be to the regarde of the quātite of his owne oſt/what maniere of folkie they be/& what his owne hold ſtrōg & hold they are armed/which of bothe ties is bet tre horſed/what apparaill & ordynaūce they haue/what comy naltee they haue/& of what nacīō what ſocours & of whens it may com/aſwell to his enemies as to hīſelf & what place

and what aduauntage hath the one partye more than that other/ And herupon he shal take thaduis and opynion of dyuers chyualrous wyse and gode captaynes that shalbe of his counseil/ olde and gode true men of gode & sadde counseyl and expert in faytis of armes/ For he shal not do nothig onely by his owne heed but shal make his enterpryse after thaduys of many men/ by whos regarde and direction he wyth them shall conclude by gode delyberacyon that whiche is best for to be doon/ to gyue bataille to his aduersaryes/ or not/ soone/ or late/ or whether he shall abyde and tary tyl his enemyes com to assaute his and hym kepyng alwayes gode watche and euery man at his warde for to deceyue by some cautell hys aduersaryes/ But and yf he can knowe hys enemyes to be waytyng after euy socours/ he shall make haste to fyght wyth them/ And yf he hym self abydeth for socours he shall tary yf he be not able hauyng alweyes gode kepe and gode watche/ and to see that althyng be redyly prest at hande/ to thede that at theyr mete or by nyght tyme they be not ouercome vnbewarr/ For as the mayster sayth/ in moost surete/ is ofte woned to fall grete peryll/ And therfore ought the hed captayne yf he see hys tyme to assayle hys enemyes whyle they be at mete or a slepe/ or ellis whan they be trauelled and wery of the waye/ or ellis whan theyr horses taken theyre pasture & theyre fode/ whan they thynke to be moost sure/ For to them saith he that be so ouertaken/ neyther vertu nor strengthe maketh noo force to them nor multytude of peple may not proffyte hem/ But hym that hys ouercome in a bataylle/ How be it that hys wytte in the arte and vse of armes/ myght not that tyme profyte hym/ Natheles in hys wrathe he may complayn vpon fortune But he that vaynquysshed is

or hurt by the ſubtylnes of his ennemye/ can blame noon/ but onely the deffaulte of his owne ſelf/ For he myght haue eſchewid hys hurt yf he had be as hedefull and dyligent to kepe hym ſelf/ as his ennemye was for to make a ſurpryſe vpon hym/ O how wel ſhewed/ that of wyſe aſſayllyng or ſawtyng he was a mayſter/ ye valyaunt ſcipion of affryke whan that he ſo mocke dyde/ that he fonde a waye and a meane by myght/ that al the lodgys of hys enemyes were ſette al on a fyre/ and ſoone after ranne vpon hem ſo ſharply that they wiſt not wher at they ſhuld a waytе nor take kepe/ and thus they were diſconfyted more by abayſſhment than by armes And this purpoos of eſpyeng of enemyes vegece ſayth that much proffytable a thyng it is in any oſt to haue wiſe eſpyes that can wel fynde the wayes to lerne and vnderſtande the couuyne of the aduerſaryes/ For ſuche can entremette hem ſelf by yeftis or grete promeſſes and by ſubtyl wayes to drawe to them ſomme or many namely yf they may that be of the counſeyll of that other partye/ ſo that they knowe what is theyre entent and purpoos for to doo/ And by thys may the chyef captayne/ ſee what it is beſt for hym to doo/ And wyth this ſaith yet vegece/ that muche it proffiteth to fynde wayes who may/ to make diſcẽcyon emong the enemyes/ and that they diſdayne to obeye to theyre cayptayne/ of whyche the condicyons men ought for to knowe/ & to take hym who may thrugh hys owne maners of dealyng/ & herof ought the wyſe cayptayne to be wel aduyſed/ for noo maner of nacyõ how litel that it be can not in all thyngis be putte a doun by enemyes/ wythout it be that dyſcencyon and debate hap to fall emõge hem ſelf/ & ſẽblably the duc or captayn that ſo ſhal ſende out his eſpyes ſhal take gode kepe ye he hiſelf be not nor his couine diſcouerd

and knowen by noo maner of espye wherby he myght be
deceyued and namely thordeynaunce of his oost/and the nō
bre of hys peple knowen of thaduersarye/ by cause that
therupon they myght purueye for a remedy profytable for
them/ Neuertheles another contenaūce and mayntene there
is in an oost that hath ben and is profytable/ That is whan
ony oost seketh hym so myghty and so stronge of hymself
and so wel garnysshed of gode men of armes/ that right wel
it pleaseth theym that theyre enemyes knowe and vndre-
stand theyre powere and puissaunce and the fyersnes of
theyre oost/ to thende that they be putt therby in a doubte for
fere of hem/ As it happed that tyme that king pirrus of ma
cedoyne sent his espies for to knowe the maynten and the
quātyte of his enemyes/ whiche espyes were taken and lad
bifore the prynce of the romayns oost that wold not suffre
that noon euyll nor hurt shuld be doon to them/ but comma-
ded that they shuld be brought al about to see his oost by cau
se they shuld reporte hys grete power to theyre kyng/ For
the whiche thing so doon/ Pyrrus preysed mucke the rom-
mayns and moost fered & drad hem therfore/ And sembla
bly dyde the grete alexaundre as men say in the tyme of hys
conqueste/ But yf the gode captayne may knowe so mucke
of the dooyngys of his aduersarye that he can vndrestande
yf hys peple be moost of the rommayns/ or of other/ holde ma
ny on fote and whot on horsbake/ And whot of archers/
& whot other shot he hathe/ he shal thenne ordeyne hys men
and hym self to the sureste & moost profytable way for them
self and to the moost hurt and dommage of theyre enne-
myes that they can/ And the auctours that of thys ma-
tere haue spoken sayen/ that in olde tyme the chyef cappytay
nes of the oostis had propre tokyns vpon theyre helmetys

for to be ther by knowen of theyr men/ & confaunons with certeyn deuyses where theyre folke with drawe hem self vnto ¶ hondred knightis were vndre a captayne that is to wite/C/men of armes/and suche captaynes were called Centurious/¶nd other there were that had grettir nombre/& other that had lesse/¶nd the baners & staūdardis of prynces & lordis were be takien to the moost valyaūt knyghtis for to bere/that were moost putte in trust & moost sure / the which ordynaunce is vnto this day with gode right holden & kept/by cause that by the regarde & by holdyng of the banere the ost in a bataille ruleth theym self/ ¶nd it is writen how by a traytour that held and bare the standard was somtyme in the lande of grece a grete ooste of men dyscomfyted of a fewe folke in bataille /

¶Here sheweth the manere that a chief captayne ought to kepe & holde as he dysslogeth from a place and as he goeth by the wayes with his ooste ¶Capi°. xvj°.

¶nd yf it happe that the ooste must departe to chaunge place/the wise captayne shall wel takie gode hede how /¶nd as Vegece saith duc or captayne that wyl be wyse ought to knowe so wel the dysposicyon of hys enemyes that he can chese and see/ Whether it is bettre to departe by nyght or by the day/but wel he must first be taught what the wayes be by the which he shall go / to thende he may be lerned of hym self how he shal demene him there / that his ost be not ouer takien vnbewarc/as in som nawow passage where as he and his peple myght be watched of thaduersarye / Or ellys in marcys ¶nd watry growndys wher theyr ennemyes can the wayes bettre than they doe/

and ther fore right al thus as they that goo by the see that
knowe not the paryllous passages that be there in dyuerses
places & costes of the same royl haue all suche parellis payn
ted in parchemyn or paper for to eschewe them as they shal
sayle/ So in lyke wyse the captaynes and leders of oostis
ought to knowe the waynes & the passages the mountaines/
the forestis & the woodis the waters the ryuers and the na-
wyble passages/ where as they must passe/ And how wel the
good captayne be wel enformed of all this/ yet for fere of fal
lyng in this caas/ he shal take with hym yf it nedeth suche
of the countre to lede his oost that can the wayes wel / The
which so taken with hym/ shal make them to be so wel kept
that they may not scape to thende that they haue noo space
yf they wold to betraye the oost/ Soo shal he gyue hem mo-
ney and shal promyse hem a grete reward yf wel and truly
they lede hym and his oost/ And by threteny ng he shal also
fraye hem yf they doo the contrary/ And straytly shal com-
maunde the hed captayne to them all that be of his counseyl
Upon theyre othe that they shal vttur nor say what waye he
purposeth to goo/ nor where he thynketh to lede his oost
nor what his purpoos is to doo / For vnnethe wythout
ony traytours is ony oost/ And harde it were that there
as grete quantyte of folke is gadred to gidre namely where
grete foyson of strangers be that they alle shold be of a good
corage/ But he ought to wite that noo thyng of lesse suf-
fraunce is in the world to pryncis/ lordis/ and hed captay-
nes of an oost / Than they that be knowen suche/ cuyll re
ward they ought to haue for what soeuer trayson that
they doo/ wel shewed this the romayns to them tyme tray-
tourfly slewe . Centorpius theyre lord/ by cause that he wo be
it he was a rommayn he had made grete werre ayenst

them of rome for despyt and enuy that he bare to other
prynces of the romains/But whan the traytours cam for
to haue & receyue theyre reward/dethe was to them youen
for theyre payement/and was told hem that suche reward
ought to haue al suche traytours/ It is semblably woryton
that kyng alexandre dide so to them that thought to haue a
plesure of hym that slewe kyng darius theyre lord With this
he shal cõmytte also suche of his thet be gode & true and wel
horsed to serche a fore & there for to take kepe that the oost be
not aspyed & watched/And vegece saith that espyes must
be sent a fore as though they were pylgrymes or laborers
that bothe day & nyght seke about/ to wite and see yf eny bus
hement be layed oughwhere/and yf thees spies comme not
ayen/ then ought the captayne to take another waye yf he
may/ For it is a token that they be taken/ and suche men by
tourment and peyne woon to them/ of tymes shewe al that
they knowe of/ The shal not be noo prentiz also in puttyng
his oost when he departeth in fayre ordenaunce and array/
that is to wite the best of his men with foyson of shott on
that syde as he thinkes that more grete perill may haply
fall/and shal comaunde that the febleste part shal obeye to the
most part of his ost/ and shal ordeyne and commytte to al
other pety captaynes/ that be in the forewarde for to goo &
marche forth in fayre ordynaunce/ that one joyned and clos
to that other and alwayes redy for to recountre theyre ene-
myes yf it nede be/ And after shal folowe the body of the ba
taille and shal marche paas by paas joyned and cloos as
thycke as a walle with theyre baners penoncellis and stan
dardis fleyng out a brode with the wynde/ And after this
shal cõm the arryere garde by semblable ordynaunce/& vege
ce saith that the cartis and bagage ought to goo after the

and ther forr right al thus as they that goo by the ſee that
knowe not the parylous paſſages that be there in dyuerſes
places & coſtes of the ſame royl haue all ſuche parcellis payn
ted in parchemyn or paper for to eſchewe them as they ſhal
ſayle/ So in lyke wyſe the captaynes and leders of oſtis
ought to knowe the wayes & the paſſages the moutaines/
the foreſtis & the woodis the waters the ryuers and the na;
rowe paſſages/ where as they muſt paſſe/ And howe wel the
gode captayne be wel enformed of all this/ yet for fere of fal
lyng in this caas/ he ſhal take with hym yf it nedeth ſuche
of the countre to lede his oſt that can the wayes wel / The
which ſo taken with hym/ ſhal make them to be ſo wel kept
that they may not ſcape to thende that they haue noo ſpace
yf they wold to betraye the oſt/ Soo ſhal he gyue hem mo;
ney and ſhal promyſe hem a grete reward yf wel and truly
they lede hym and his oſt/ And by thretnyng he ſhal alſo
fraye hem yf they doo the contrary/ And ſtraytly ſhal com;
maunde the hed captayne to them all that be of his counſeyl
Upon theyre othe that they ſhal vttir nor ſay what waye he
purpoſeth to goo/ nor where he thynketh to lede his oſt
nor what his purpoos is to doo / For brnethe without
ony traytours is ony oſt/ And harde it were that there
as grete quantyte of folke is gadred to gidre namely where
grete foyſon of ſtrangers be that they alle ſhold be of a gode
corage/ But he ought to wite that noo thyng of leſſe ſuf;
fraunce is in the world to pryncis/ lordis/ and hed captay;
nes of an oſt / Than they that be knowen ſuche/ euyll re
ward they ought to haue for what ſoeuer trayſon that
they doo/ wel ſhewed this the romayns to them that tray;
tourſly ſlewe . Centorynus theyre lord/ by cauſe that he wo be
it he was a romayn he had made grete werre ayenſt

them of wome for despyt and enuy that he bare to other pryncys of the romains/But Iohan the traytours cam for to haue & receyue theyre reward/ethe was to them yoven for theyre payement/and was told hem that suche reward ought to haue al suche traytours/ It is semblably wryton that kinge alexandre dide so to them that thought to haue a plesure of hym that slewe kinge darius theyre lord With this he shal compte also suche of his that he gode & true and wel horsed to serche a fore & there for to take hem that the oost be not aspyed & watched/And vegece saith that espyes must be sent a fore as though they were pylgrymes or laborers that bothe day & nyght sekie about/ to wite and see yf eny busshement be layed oughwhere/and yf thees spies comme not ayen/ then ought the captayne to take another waye yf he may/ For it is a token that they be taken/ and suche men by tourment and peyne doon to them/ of tymes shewe al that they knowe of/ He shal not be noo prentiz also in puttyng his oost when he departeth in fayre ordenaunce and array/ that is to wite the best of his men wyth foyson of shott on that syde as he thinkes that more grete perill may hayly fall/and shal comaunde that the febleste part shal obeye to the moste part of his ost/ and shal ordeyne and commytte to al other pety captaynes/ that be in the forewarde for to goo & marche forth in fayre ordynaunce/ that one joyned and cloos to that other and alweyes redy for to recountre theyre enemyes yf it nede be/And after shal folowe the body of the battaille and shal marche paas by paas joyned and cloos as thycke as a walle wyth theyre baners penoncellis and standardis fleyng out a brode wyth the wynde/And after this shal com the arryere garde by semblable ordynaunce/& vegece saith that the cartis and bagage ought to goo after the

forebarde for the more surte of the same/or ellis by fore the arriere garde/And by cause it happeth some tyme to be salued on the sydes by som embusshe that falleth vpon vnbelwarre/ the captayne shal ther fore ordeyne for socours to be redy at euy tyme on euery syde/And the boke of armes saith that the captayne ought syngulerly to take gode hede to the maner of goyng of his peple/that they make theyr paas egall & lyke/and that they kepe styl gode ordenaunce/ For any ost vnordynatly renged vpon that one felaushyp hasteth to marche/and that other withdrawith / it his in grete peryll/ nor noo thyng is mor prendicyable in a bataille/than dyssordonaunce or to go out of arrey/and he saith that the Journey of any ost ought to be of/v/m/ paacys in the somer/or ellis/x/ouures that may amounte to/x/myle of waye/and yf nede ledeth hem/ they may go yet as he saith :ÿ: M paas and noo more/and ought to be wel wyse that by long way nor trauayll his ost falle not to som sykines for falute of reste/wherfor he must see to departe at a conenable owre / so that they may com to lodgyng er the nyght com vpon hem/ And that in the short dayes of the wynter they departe not so late that thrughe rayne snowe or froste they must go a gre te part of the nyght and he shal see also that his ost be alwe yes purueyed as he goeth with wode for to make fyre with all/ For noothyng so nedefull is in any ost as is the fyre/& that they vse of noon cupl waires that myght engendre in them som pestilence/that in suche an assemble sykie folkie ne de not/and it is a grete myscheffe whan necessite of batayll chasseth them that by sykines are as dysconfyt to do more than they can

¶ Here speketh of the passage of ostis ouer flodes and Ry uers ¶ Capi: xxv:

It falleth somtyme so that an oste must passe ouer grete watres & ryuers which thyng is grete acombraūce and full of parel/ and the remedyes for to passe them ouer/ dyscriueth Vegece/ saying/ that first men must wysely knowe where the watre is lest and most lowe/ and there in trauers ought to be sett a route of folke wel horsed and another in like wyse vndrenethe/ and thus shal passe betwix them for the the grete flote of the ooste/ And saith that they that be vpward shal hold the swiftnes of the watres/ and they þ be downwardis they may helpe vp them that þ watre myght throwe a doun/ And yf the watre be so grete that this remedy cannot serue/ and that nedes it muste be passed/ the captayne shal haue his bridgis redy made tofore which shal doo to be borne alwayes with hym in charyotis or cartis/ of which bridgis som may be made vpon pipes bounden togyder and wel teyed with ropys by trauers of the ryuere & for dis wel fastued thrupon with pynnes made of woode/ which brydge may be soone dressed vpon the water as men doo vpon keuys by witte of subtyl maystres/ and som may be made with stakis fast pight within the watre with ropes that shal retche in trauers from that one stake to that other vpon whiche ropes the cordis shal be sett for folke to go ouer Another manere of bridgis may be founde/ that is with shippes couered with bordis and wel made fast that one vessel to that other/ and this manere of waye is the surest for a brydge who that can recouer so many vessellis/ & yet men may make a brydge with long peces of tymber and sett hem in trauers of the ryuere with hyrdellis therupon and couered with hors donge and they must be ancred within the watre that they may be stedfast/ And by suche manere of waye they may passe hem self ouer lyghtly/ but dyuise other

remedyes fonde in this behalue the kyng Cirus of perse
whan he went for to take the cyte of Babilonne/ For as he
came to the ryuere of Euffrates / he fonde it soo large & so
depe that hit semyd as Impossible that eny ost of men shuld
haue past hit ouer/ Wherfore by force of men he dyde doo ma
ke dyches & dalue the erth so that the said flood was parted
in/iiij/C/lxbi/ryuers And by this meane he and his gret
ost dyde passe ouer/ And thus there is nothyng but that
the witte of man can reche whan wisedom & wille be to gider
sett therto/ With this it is recounted by thauncyent histor
ies that the conquerours in olde tyme were so taught & so go
de maistres of woymyng that they sette but litell for to haue
goon ouer a grete water/ and had grete pris of tymbre ma
de holowe as chestis in which they dyde theyre harnoys &
vitailles after hem/ and other made fagottis or boundellis
of drye rede and bounde hem vp and soo passed ouer/ And yf
the bridge must of nede abyde styl for to passe contynuelly &
repasse ouer/ it must be fortyffied with dicches & with strong
palis that shal be kept of gode men of armes & archers at
the syde of the enemyes/ And where this maner of woyng
shuld seme light by herying say/ and harde of wooyng to them
that haue not lerned the way therof/ that myght say that of
suche thingis it is but a dreme/ It is no Jape that whan y
grete oostis of the romayns duryng the space of /xxx/ yere
& moo went dyuerse tymes fro rome in Affryke vnto the ci
te of cartage and yet ferther in other countrees where they
must passe grete flodes & grete ryuers and like wise thrugh
all the landis that they gate & subdued/ they had noo brid-
gis made of stone nor noo vesselles they fonde for to passe
hem ouer/ wherfore they fonde as for nede al suche wayes
of makyng of bridgis/ And yf it happed that they passed

ouer on the myght by the moue lyght or ellis so secretly that the enemyes can not knowe nothyng therof/ they must assoone as they be past arme hem self and putte hem self ayen in gode ordynaunce that they be not ouertaken vnwarre And kepe forth on theyr way with a fayre lytel paas by suche an ordre that yf eny enemyes com vpon hem they may be able and redy to bere more peyne and suffre more perell than they can gyue hem/ But yf they may eschewe hem by mountaynes and leue theyre enemyes vndrenethe it is a greete auauntayge and sureete for them/ And yf it be soo that they fynde the wayes nawowe by combraunce of busshes and hedges it is bettre/ as Vegece sayth that they cutte hem and open hem a brode wyth theyre handys for makyng of the way/ than that they shuld abyde or suffre greete perylle in the hyghe and brode wayes

Here speketh of the maneres that the chyef captayne of any ost ought to hold & kepe whan he thinketh to haue shortly a batayll̃e

Capitulo xviij°

After that whych a boue is sayd must be here spoken of certayn poyntis/ aduyses and wayes that to a captayne/ ave gode to be kept that tyme he supposeth to recyue soone a batayll̃e / after the loke of armes and other auctoures that haue spoken of thys matere/ And it is to wyte that whan men sele theyre enemyes comming wylling to ouer renne the lande/ they ought not yf they can to suffre hem to entre the countrey/ but shal go ayenst them wyth a greete ooste/ For muche bettre it is to hurt anotheris lande than to suffre his owne to be dommaged/ Whan a captayne thêne is com to that place as he thenketh to haue shortly

a batayll ſeeing hys enemyes nygh hym/he ſhal kepe hym
wyen hys wordes/but he ſhal make no haſte for to ſadote
them in a playne feld but yf it be at hys auauntage/ Ther
fore he ſhal be gardy and curyous as it is ſayd for to knowe
of theyre beyng/what a captayne they haue/whether he is
ſoly/he or wyſe worthy or not/what counſeyll he hath/ what
hys pety captaynes be whether they enured and taught to
the warres or not/Of what feyth and trouthe hys men of
armes be/what theyre herte ſayth of the quarell / and what
wylle they haue for to fyght/ Yf they haue plente of vy-
taylles or not/ For honger fyghteth within forth and
may ouer come wythout yron/ So ſhal he haue aduis and
counſeyll wyth the hys/ to wyte whether it be better to gyue
the batayll ſoone or not/or to tary hit/ or yf he ſhall abyde
that he be aſſaulted/ For yf he may knowe that they be in
daunger of honger /or ellis that payement faylleth to them
wherby they go fro the feld lytyl and lytyl/And not content
leue theyre captayne/ or that they be ſuche as haue be norriſ
hed in court wyth delicatys and in wanutoneſſes at theyre
eaſe what foyſon of peple that they be of/And may no mo-
re ſuffre the ſharpnes of the feld nor the harde lyuyng of
the ooſt/But deſyre and wold haue reſte/he ſhal thenne ma
ke noo haſte for to gyue hem batayll/ but he ſhal kepe hym
ſtyl/as thoughe he waffe noo kepe therfore / And mooſt
ſecretly that he can he ſhal ſende hys men in to buſſhementys
for to ouer take hem vnbeware there as they ſhal paſſe by/
Yf he can doo ſo by eny maner of wey/ And to ſay that
grete proffyt cometh to a captayne of an ooſt that wyſely
can ſett buſſhementys for to ouer take hys enemyes/ It ap
peered well that tyme that haſdrubal ledde to the ſecours of
Hanybal the prynce of cartage hys brother a merueyllous

ooſt of men ayenſt the wnmayns the whiche wel aduyſed of the ſame ſett theyre buſſhement a long the ſote of the hyl: lys and there they ranne vpon hym and hys cartagyens by ſuche a courage that they ſlewe of them more than/ ℔/ m/ men and tolke theyre grete rycheſſe not wyth ſtandyng the grete nombre of elephauntus that they had with them/

¶ And thys waye for to holde/affermeth Vegece/ ſayeng that men ought to eſpye hys aduerſary ſo long tyl that hys ooſt be deuyded in gooyng ouer floodes or ryuers/ Or tyl that they be wery of the way/or ellis combred wyth palys and mareys or of ſome narow paſſagis/ ſo that they occu: pyed and combred with ſuche lettyngis may be ſooner ſlayn than ſette in ordynaunce/ But and the chyef captayne knoweth that hys enemyes be ſtrong and of grete corage ayenſt hym and deſyre to fyght/ he ought ſemblably to pry ne hym ſelf for to be redy to receyue them vigorowuſly/ And yf yt fall them to come vnto the lodgys for to ſawte the ooſt at ſuche tyme as they wene that they wyl not come out/ he ſhal thenne make deffenſſe wythout moo/ making as he nor noon of hys wold yſſue out/ But whan ſuche ſhall tourne theyre backis/ Yf he receyue them to be ſom: what out of gode array/or ellis besy about ſom proie/ he ſhal thenne yſſue out of hys lodgys wyth hys men of armes wyl renged and in fayre ordynaunce/ And corageouſly at a pynche ſhal renne vpon hem and ſhall hurt and dom: mage to hys power/ ¶ But wel he muſt ſee that he make not hys folke to come out that tyme that they be we: ry of gooyng of a long waye or a grete Journey/ For a man that is wery is half ouer come/ ¶ And by thys manere of waye the ryght wyſe wmmayns dyde enuahyſſ: he the ryght myghty kyng Aſſuerus of Aſſye and

Anthiocus of Europe / that is to wyte by myght whan
theyre oostys were trauelled and lacked rested / And
noo kepe they tokie of them self / the whyche wommayns
beyng but a selde in quantyte slewo more than ly / thousand
of the forsayd two kyngys men as thistorye recounteth /
¶ And Vegece sayth that where a batayll is doon in two
or in thre owres after whyche al maner trust and hope is
goon from that partye that is ouer come / And by cause
that the fortune of the victorye can not be knowen of afo-
re / The wyse captayne ought not to putte nor daunce
forth hym and hys men lyghtly to a batayll in a plain
feld but yf he see that it be to hys grete auauntage / And
that a day of batayll sette / is to be drad and redoubted as
a thing that is putt in a grete Jeopardye / Wel it was
assayed and prouyd of the wommayns that tyme they had
sent theyre grete oost in to hyspayne that tourned rebell
ayenst hem / Where as of the batayll whych they founde
there redy ayenst hem remayned not of hem alle one per-
sonne that myght reporte the tydyngys to rome / but kneld
hyt a gode whyle after by strangers / ¶ Therfore ought
the Duc to hurte hys ennemyes lytel and ofte by fayre
scarmysshes / by watches / and by bussheméntys / ¶ And
by suche waye to mynusshe them day by day as mucke as
he can / ¶ Item he saith also that whan it happeth that
prisonners be taken during the werre in scarmyshyng
or otherwyse / men ought to entreate and fare so forth
with them that thei be putte therby in despaire of theyr lyffe
yf hyt be so that they that so haue taken hem / Awayte
after the batayll / by cause that theyre ennemyes hauyng
noo trust to fynde nother pyte nor mercy in them yf they
were vaynquysshed of them / shuld deffende them self and

fyght more corageously for theyre lyffe / For many a tyme it hath be seen that a lytyl quantyte of men thus desperate of mercy and pytie / dyscomfyted and ouer cam a grete and a mughti oost / by cause that they wold rather dey fighting / than to fall in the cruell handys of theyre ennemyes / ¶ And so it is a grete peryll to be fight suche men / ¶ For theyre strēgthe groweth and doubbeth wyth in hem ¶ Therfore ought the Duc or captayne sayth he to vnder stande and knowe as a ryghte wys Juge doeth the trouthe of a matere or he gyue hys sentence / Also wel the strengthe as thaduauntage that hys enemye hath ouer hym and how and wherwof he may hurt hym / wherupon he shal take wyse counsell to wyte what he hath to doo / ¶ For by this manere of waye hath of tymes a small quantyte of folke that ledd were by wyse captaynes / ouer come a grete multytude as it is sayd bifore / ¶ But yf it happe saith Vegece / that thyn enemye presse the mucke for to gyue hym a day of bataylle and that he hasteth to be fyght the / take hede whether it is at hys aduauntage and to thy hurt and dommage / but doo nothyng nor medle not but yf thou see thy tyme

¶ Here sheweth the manere of behauyng that a chyef captayne ought to holde yf hyt happe that he wyl departe from the feld without abydyng or gyuyng of euy bataylle /

¶ Capitulo xiy /

But we putte a cas / that the prynce hap to sende worde to the captayne that he tourne agayn wytout gyuing of euy bataylle nor that he make nomore adoo / or that the chyef captayne wold take hym self vpon hym for certayn cause to leue the feld / it is to consydere & to see what manere

se sure / Thenne shall come out vpon hem they that se in busshementhes sette for theym and by grete vertu and strēgthe shal hurte and domage hem/ ¶ And holde so euer it is he that departeth from hys ennemye ought by al maneer of waies to purueye / that yf he se chassed and folowed / that they that chasseth and purseweth hym haue som myshap at his retourne ageyn/ eythre by settig of a watche for them or ellys by som other maneer / ¶ And yf it nedeth them that shal make chasse after the to passe ouer som flode or ryuere / kepe thy watche so for theym that they that shall passe first may be ouer wonne by thy men / and that another partye of thy peple se putte in a busshement at the bac syde of thim enemyes yf thou can for to saluer them that yet awayten for to passe ouer the ryuere / And yf thou nede thy self for to passe throughe woodis or by som nawe wayes see that thou sende a fore som personnes of the ooste that se feithfull and true that can reporte vnto the/ the pathes and whether euy busshement se there layed or not / For a lesse shame it were to receyue a dommayge in fightyng openly with hys enemye / than to haue euy combeaunce & lettyng by som awaytyng sette / whereof men had taken noo kepe vnto it throughe necligence /

¶ Here sheweth how the hed captaine of an ooste that falleth in a treatee of peas or taketh trewes with his enemyes ought to kepe hymself and his peple from suche perylys as he may be brought or fall in to by wylys & decepcōn/ ¶ / xxv°

And to thende that no thige that couenable is & expedyent to be putte in this our boke be not forgoten / as touchig ỳ caasis ỳ oftentimes happen or ỳ may happe by faite of armes / it is gode to spelie of athig ỳ ouer moche may hurt

& ouer sore any ost & ỹ may ouercome & hurte more/ than doeth
ywone or euy other thing/ & that soueraynly is to be eschewyd
and to take good heede vnto/ the whyche thing is harde to
be putte fro/ whan it is ones sette in any ost/ as it shal be
declared hereafter/ ¶ We haue deuysed al ynoughe how
that an ost may departe more surely fro the felde/ yf cas
be that hys best counseyll woyl not that he fyghte/ ¶ Now
wol we putte another cas/ that is to woytte/ that bothe
thostys be In a feld wyth a grete strengthe on bothe sydes
and redy for to take a day of bataylle togyder/ But by cer-
teyn meanes they fall in a treatee of peas/ ¶ It is thenne
necessary in suche a caas/ That the captayne as we haue
sayd by fore/ be sage and woyse/ so that he may worke
al thingys to the best/ ¶ And for to folowe the waye
that woysedome techeth/ he shal first take hede to two prin
cypall thyngys/ ¶ One is that he shal consydere/ What
the personnes be that treatten and what moeueth them
therto/ That other is/ he shal be holde and see what and
vpon whyche condycyons is founded and resteth the same
trayttee/ ¶ What the demaunde whyche is doon to hym
is/ and what hys offre is/ ¶ As to the first of two
it is to be aduysed yf they that so treaten ben hys frendys
or yf he so reputeth and holdeth them/ or whether they be
men of egall meane not parcyal nor synguler for nother
of bothe partyes/ or whether they be symply sent and ad-
mytted of that other partye/ or not/ Yf it be so that hit com
meth by the symple motyon of that other part/ it is a gode
token/ that noo decepte be not wyth all For eyther god hath
so inspyred them/ or it appereth that they doubte fere ỹ ba
tayll/ but neuer themore for this/ he shal be wel aduised of
ỹ maner of theyre askyng with ỹ maner of theyre proffre

thou be more prouide therfore beinge to haue hym at auan-
tage yf the batayllus happed to be/ wherby thou wouldest
not fall to scorne/ But rather to be founde the harder
for any proffres that were soon vnto the/ may certynly/
For both peyne it myght be founde that euer it happed that
they that refused iuste proffres what someuer ryght that
they had nor what grete nombre of peple that they had
agenst a fello folke/ But that at the last they repented
full sore/ And it semyth that god in thys caas hateth
them that suche reasonnable proffres contempnen and re-
fusen/ And punysheth hem ther for/ But herto thou
oughtest to take hede for in thys lyeth the parell/ that is to
wyte/ that thou be not deceyued by trayson theroughe false
meanes vndre the shadowe of the treatyng of the pees/
And how shalt thou fynde thys/ For sothe I say that by
conjectures thou shalt wele haue a colour of the doubte the
rof/ Wherfore be thou alwayes vpon thy watche/ Wher-
for yf it be so/ that the furst meuing of the trayttre of pees
be comen of somme of thym/ thou shalt wolde fynde by the
condycyons of hym/ what the cause may be that hath mo-
euyd hym to spake therof/ For yf he be wyse and a gode
true man/ and that thou fyndeest hym for such/ thou ough
test not for to merueyll yf such a man wold gladly see
that a gode meane were founde that myght eschewe ef-
fusion and sheding of mannys blode by som gode and
worshypfull trayttre and that pees myght be had/
But yf he be a man that is not wont to fynde hym self
in such a caas/ And that is of lytyl courage/ thoughe he
be malycyouse and a wel spoken man/ thou mayst thyn-
ke that thus commeth to hym by cowardnes & feblenes of her
te/ But not therfore thou oughtest not to putte his reasos

all a backe/But ſhalt ſee yf they ſey gode and to thy profyt and honnour/ Another thyng is to be conſydered/that is that in herynge hym ſpeke / that the Waye of the treattye pray ſheweth and counſeilleth Vnto the/ thou ſhalt fele and ſee whether the pray may bettre be & come to his proffyt/than the Warre/ And yf in his talkyng he pryneth hym ſelf to putte the in Wylle of makynge of a pray/ the Whiche for gre: te deſyre that he hath to hyt/ſhuld not be Vnto the Wel hon: nourable/or yf it is ony couetouſe perſone to Whom this may be made to be ſaid by yeftes & promeſſes/ To thees yf thou may hit knowe/thou ought not to adde nor gyue noo cre: dence nor feyth/but ſhalt put them aſyde yf thou be of theyre condicions ſuffyſauntly informed/ For ay Vntrue counſeil ler Wyl neuer gyue gode counſeil but yf it be to his ſinguler proffyt/but a true couſeiller ſeeth more to the comyn Weele/ than to his owne parcyall proffit/ And nowe it is to the ne ceſſary duryng the traittye of pray/that lyke Wiſe as the am bayadours comen to the from that other partye / ſo ſhalt thou ſende ayen ſomme of thyn/ Therfore thou muſt in this Wel ſee that thou be not deceyued/ For a grete parel may be thrynne but yf they be true men / For by ſuche Wayes and by ſuche ambaxatours many cytres / landis and royalmes as ſom tyme Was troye the grete and other dyuers haue be deceyued by ſuche traytours ambayatours feynyng them ſelf gode & true/nor noo parel there nys lyke Vnto the ſame/ by cauſe that it is ſo hidd / that Wyth pryne may noon kepe hym ſelf holde Wyſe that he be/ from a traytour yf he hath entrepriſed to hurt him by treaſon / And therfore noo bettre remedy to this there nys but to ſede ſuche ambaxa dours that be mooſt nyghe thy noble perſone yf ſuche thou haſt Wyth the that gretly ſettyn by thy deth and deſtruction

in whome thou moſt truſteſt / For by ſuche / many haue be
deceyued/but of ſuche as thou haſt enhaunced in highe degre
and that ſhuld loſe muche yf thou were not. and of other of
whome lothe of conſcience & of lyuyng thou feleſt & knowe
eſt good/honneſt and true/ And that trouthe ought to be
kept & occupied in al caſes of warres and bataylles / and
treaſon repreued and lefte after the ſentence of the gode men
wel ſheweth hit the right worthy Fabricius of whome we
haue ſpoken a lowe/ For that tyme that he warred with his
oſt ayenſt kyng pirrus/that hurt ſore by hys bataellis the
rommayns/came vnto hym the phyſicyen of the ſaid kinge
that offred hym for to poyſone hys maiſter/ ſo that he wold
reward hym wel for it/ The valyaunt man anſwered hym
that it was not the guyſe of the rommayns for to ouercome
ony by treaſon /and made hym to be ſent ayen vnto his mai
ſter the whiche whan he knewe the cas he ſaid thus with a
highe voyce O rather ſhuld the ſonne tourne out fromę hys
cours/ than that Fabricyus wold departe fromę trouthe & fi
delyte/ Soo went the kyng pyrrus hys waye/ and for
this kounte that he ſawe / wolde not gyue noo bataille at
that tyme

¶ Here deuyſeth the maneres that a captayne of an oоſt
ought to kepe/ that day that he hopeth to haue bataylle/ ¶ Capitulo xxij

AFter theeſe thynges aboue ſaid for to comme to the
point that faytes of warre concludeth/ that his to wite
aſſemblee & gadryng of men to a bataille/ where as this is
that thyng mooſt princypall/ ſay we therme thus/ And yf
it happe at al endes that nede of fyghtynge conſtrayneth the
oоſt to aſſemble and meddle vpon a certayn day with the

enemyes/therme ought not the good and Wyse captayne to
be Wnpurueyed of al that he muste do/and to see & aduyse to
the beste Waye/And som thynges there ben that are not to be
forgoten/What shall he do thene/he shall not haue a litell to
thinke on/For noo gretter poys or Weyght can not be bor-
ne emonge men/than is that same in Whiche lyeth the hole
Weyghte of al a contrey/the astate of the prynce and the
lyffe of an Infynyt nombre of folke/the Worshyp or the
dysWorshyp of the lorde of the kingthode and of all the no
bles/He shall thene assemble and call all the captaynes of
the ooste byfore hym and in audyence of all thoo that Wol be
present he shall speke Wyth them/saymge thees or semblable
Wordes Pyght dere bretherne/felawes & frendes/We are here
assembled as ye knowe by the comaundement of oure good
prynce for to kepe hys place in this byhalue as his lieute-
nauntis for to mayntem & kepe by the sWorde the ruste qua
rell of his good ryght/that his noble predecessours haue su
steyned of long tyme in Whiche is a gode cause of an entre-
prys ayenst suche a kynge or prince of Whome he hathe re-
ceyued many a grete Wronge Whiche is a thing of trouthe
as We may be informed and knowe the certeynte therof/
Soo are We holden as true subgettes and his sWorne men
takynge Wages of hym/to kepe & susteyne his gode ryght
in exposyng & puttynge oure bodyes and oure lyues in Jeo
pardye as lawfully We haue promysed to do by oure othes
Without forsakyng of the place for eny fere of dethe/Now
thenne late We doo so muche as I requyre and do besech as
fere as ye ought to loue my ryght there bretherne/frendes
and felawes that by Vs/and by the strengthes of oure bo-
dyes and Vertu of hardy corage/that to oure said good pri
se We may reporte and bere the Victorye of thys batayll/

so that he may haue bothe worshyp and goode fame therby
and be euermore to be preysed and worshypped with hym
for thesame/and that hys good grace we may please therby
Soo haue we a good cause fayre lordys to sadde by fiers
corage and to ennuay/she wyllyngly oure enemyes I dare
wel saye For they be in the wrongе / and so is god with
vs wher fore we shal ouercome them without fayll with-
out the defaulte be in vs/and therof I make you sure/Nowe
be ye wyllynge therme my derе frendes euery man as muche
as he may / to do so wel that I may haue a cause to re-
porte by you that wyche ye shal be the bettre for/ ¶And
as to me I sweare you by my faythe / That whosomeuere
shal bere hym selfe wel nowe of what soeuere degre that he
be of/ I shall so gretly Reward hym that he shal be wholle
that he lyueth the bettre bothe in honnour and proffyte/
¶Nowe late vs goo without fere and hardyly my derе
chyldren/frendes and brethern ayenst thees folkе commen-
dynge oure self vnto god that he wyl graunte vs the vic-
tory ouer theym as we all desyre the same / ¶Suche ma
neres of wordes shal say the hed capytayne vnto his men
and that this ought to be doo / all the auctoures accorden
in one that of thys caas haue spoken / and sayen that the-
es maneres kepte Julyus Cesar / Pompee / Scippon
and the other conquerours / And with thys affirme
and holden that the wyse capytayne oughte to be large and
not couetouse/ ¶For it is to be knowen that the folkes
of kynghede lerne noo couetyse to be had in noo maner
of capytayne but onely to see for the pryce and worshyppe
that longeth to the faytes of armes / And certeynly thys
shewed wel the good duc Fabrycyus the wyche for exam-
ple of hys bountefulnes we soo often remembre hym in

thys folie/ Whan that the kynge Pyrrus hys enemye that ſore muche deſyred to drawe hym with hys partye by cauſe he was ſoo worthy/ ſent hym a grete quantyte of plate bothe of golde and of ſyluere/ For by cauſe that he vndreſtode that he was ſo poure that he was ſerued at his owne borde with veſſellys of wode and platers made of tree/and ſent hym worde that to ſo hyghe a man as he was appartayned wel ryche ſeruyce/ But he refuſed them/ and anſwered that he loued bettre to ete hys mete in treen dyſſhes with worſhip/than in dyſſhes of gold with repreue and ſhame/ ¶ Thenne thus it behoueth that the ſayd hed capytayne/ he kenygne and gracyouſe emonge hys folke/ For otherwyſe he were not worthy to be amytted to that offyce/ For they ſay that by the meanes of hys largeſſe and kenygnyte he may the bettre drawe vnto hym the hertes of hys folke to expoſe and Jeoparde with hym bothe body and lyffe/ than by ony other other thynge/ ¶ Hys kenygnyte ought to gyue hardynes namely to the leſte ẽ that ben of ſymple aſtate/that they dare shewe and ſygnyfye vnto hym ſome thynge yf hyt ſemeth hem good that concerneth the fayete of armes/ As it may hap ſomtyme that ſom of lowe degree may be of good aduys and of good counſeyll/ For why/god Impartyth hys gyftes of grace where he wyl ¶ And it is writen that the valyant conquerours that he paſt and goon departed largely theyre conqueſtes and prayes to theyre men of armes/ And for them ſelf it ſuffyſed to haue onely the honoure of the batayllles/ and therfore they dide with theyre folke what they wolde/ And that drawynge wordes are good/ Vegece ſayth/ that the good tyſynge and the admoneſtyng of the worthy duc eueraceth in ony ooſt hardynes/ corage and vertue/ And therfore

they oughte to shewe lytyl and ofte vnto theyre folkis thyr eyre
eyghte / and howe they be wronged by theyre ennemyes / and
howe they be holden to the prynce and to the countre / And
to admoneste them for to do well and to be valyaunt / pro-
myttyng offyces and grete yeftes after theyre olbone deserv-
ge / ¶ And in dede for to gyue ensample to other / he oughte
to worshyp them that haue borne hem self wel / and shal doo
theym good to thende they haue a bettre herte therfore /
And by suche wordes he may doo gwobe the anger and euyl
wylle of hys men ayenst theyre enemyes / and love and
gode wylle ayenst the prince /

¶ The matere of takyng of auauntayge at a felde

¶ Capitulo xxij°

VEgece saith that the hed capytayne oughte to see that
day that he wol gyue batayllle / what wylle hys men
haue therto / For he may knowe yf they haue euy drede or
fere in theym by theyre faces / by theyre wordes / and by
the moeuyng of theyre bodyes / But he sayth thys is not
to be vnderstande of thoos that haue not lerned hyt / For
merueylle it were but yf suche shold drede hit / But yf he
knoweth that they that be enured with theyr syre of armes
makyen doubte of hyt / he ought to delaye the batayllle vnto
another day yf he may / And yf he hathe folkie of some stra-
ge landes wyth hym yougmen and not exercyced and that
he doubteth of theyre trouthe / he oughte to commytte theym
vnder som good and true capytaynes that wel can teche
hem for to doo where as they shall not comme flee / For by
thaffraye of suche folkie may be the batayllle brought to a
grete parcyll / And to teche hem so that they obeye theyre
captaynes commaundementis / For noo thynge proffiteth

so muche in an oost as the obeyssaunce to be kepte vndre the duc or capptayne/ And therfore sayth he/ that by one voyce alone they that ben ferre from theyre capptaynes can not knowe the soubdayne neccessitees that may fall in a bataylle/ ¶ The auncyent fonde aduaye for to vse of certeyn tokens by vohyche they gaffe hastly knowlege thurgh al the oost what they shuld doo/ ¶ Other by the sowne of trompettys / or by dyfferent sowne / as of hornes that men called bnyssynes / as of other manere of thyngys/ ¶ But to thende that by ofter herynge of suche maneres of sowne/ the ennemyes shulde not be voyse nor knowe what hyt ment / made som tyme a dyfference in hyt / but fyrst was thys wel notyfyed emonge them / ¶ And from theyre chyldhede that men taughte hem the vse of armes/ thees maneres whiche shewed vnto them / by cause they shulde bettre remembre hem self at a nede / ¶ And for thys cause the trompettys were founde that dyuersyfye theyre sownes after the fallys happen / ¶ Now cometh to the poynt how that a batayllc after the teching of vegece shalbe renged in arraye / ¶ Soo shall therme se the voyse captayne as it is sayd that he take fyrst the advaun: tage of the felde/ Where as thre pryncypalle thynges are to be consydered and seen vnto / ¶ That one to take the hygheste part of the place / the seconde / that the ennemyes haue the sonne shynynge streyght vpon theyre faces/ asson ge as the batayll shall laste / And that other / that the wynde be also ayenst hem / ¶ And yf thees thre thynges he may haue with hym / hyt shall tourne hym to a grete proffyt/in asmuche that it is noo doubte/ But that he that is in the hygheste grounde hathe the advauntayge of stren: gthe ayenst hym that is lowe/ ¶ Item/ the sonne shynyng

ayr eyen face troubleth hys syght full sore / And lykewyse
eueth the wynde that fylleth them wyth sonde / And also
the shoot of an arowe borne wyth the help of the wynde a
lyghteth more sore and leueth a greter strengthe / And
also myrusshyth and taketh away the force of the shot of
the contrary part / ¶ And it is here to knowe that by
two maneres of weyes ouer cam the Pommayns in ba-
tayll theym of Sycambre / that was by ennahyssshyng
of suche an arte that theyr ennemyes had the sonne to fore
theym / And that other was / by soubdayn commynge
vpon them so that noo layser they had to putte hem self in
ordynaunce/

¶ Here deuiseth shortly the maner after the vse of the time
present to venge an ost in a felde for to befyght his enemyes

¶ Capytulo / xxiij /

Where vegece putteth many maneres of waies for
to venge an ooste in batayll/as it shal be sayd herafter the volyche in some maneres may be dyfferentes to the
regarde of the ordynaunces of the tyme present / The cause
peraventure is by cause that the folke comynly in tho dayes
faughten more on horsbacke than a fote / ¶ And also
where noo thynge there nys in the ordres of humayn de-
des / But that it is by long proces of tyme chaunged
and tourned / me semyth good to touche shortly somwhat
in mooste entendyble termes of the comon ordynaunces of
the tyme present / as ynough it is knowen of them that
haunten of armes experyens / ¶ That is to wyte to make
hys auauntgarde of a longe trayne of men of armes al

clos togyder and renged full ſmothely that the one paſſe not that other the beſt and the mooſt choſyn in the fyrſt ſwe rde and the marſſhalles both theym by theyr baneres and ſtandartes / and at the formeſt ſydes are made bayn: ges in bohych ben all maneres of ſhoters renged and in good arraye / aſſwel gonneres / as baleſters / and archers ¶ After the fyrſt batayll that men calle the Forward commeth the grete batayll where as all the grete flote and rolde of men of armes is putte al arrenged in a fayre ordre by theyre capytaynes that haue among hem theyre banneres and ſygnes al by / bohych are by dyuerſe rolles one after a nother full ſmothly renged and not ſteppyng out of place / For the Conneſtable doeth a cry to be made that noon vpon peyne of deth ſhall dyſwdome hym ſelf / ¶ And ſom ſaye that yf eny quantyte of comons be there men ought to ſortyfye both ſuche maner of men the wing ges of bothe ſydes by fayre rolles well ordred at the bak ſyde of the ſhot / the bohyche comons ſhalle taken and com: mytted vnto good capytaynes / and in lyke wyſe they ſhal be renged by fore the grete batayll / ſo that yf they wolde flee they myght be kepte in ſtyl by the men of armes that be behynde hem / In the myddes of thys grete batayl: le is putte the prynce of the ooſt and the pryncypall ban: nere borne byfore hym to the bohyche is the byholdynge of the batayll / wherfore it is taken to holde hyt vp to one of the beſt and pryncypall of the ſayd ooſt / and a boute hyt ben of the beſt and mooſte approued men of armes / aſ: well for the ſurete of the prynce as of theſame / ¶ After folobynge thys grete batayll commeth the thyrde that men calle the rerewarde the bohyche is ordeyned for cõforte And helpe theym that be a fore / that ſemblably are putte in

araye by a fayre ordre / And behynde thys batayll ley fayerly putte the yomen on horsbacke that helpen theyre maysters yf nede be and holden and maken an obstakell that on the bakkyde of the batayll they be not envahyssed / ¶ Of the wheche thynge yf there be ynoughe of men of armes and that they be in a doubte les that the ennemyes wyl com at that syde / thoo that surely wyl fyght and that ley wyse in fayttes of armes / maken another batayll that tourneth the bak towardys the other batayllys a foresayd / all redy appareylled for to receyue them that wold comme / ¶ And with thees sayd thynges comonly are ordeyned a quantyte of men of armes experte of the crafte / and wel mounted vpon good courseers wheche ley full redy on the syde for to com and breke wythe courses of horses thordynaunce of the enemyes as they shal be venged and assembled togyder / ¶ And therfore the batayll is often tyme wonne by them that best can shyfte and deale wythall / ¶ And where thys manere of vengyng of an ooste is moost couenable / yet som that ley experte in armes doo counseylle / that whan men haue noo grete quantyte of comons but haue for the moo parte all men of armes / that all the holl assemble be putte togyder onely in one batayll wythout noo other forwarde nor arryeregarde but onely the wynges of the fronte of the batayll as it is sayd a fore / and sayen that more surely they fyght soo / ¶ And thys maner was kept at the batayll of roseseke where as the kynge of Fraunce Charles the fyfth of that name had the victorye ayenst xxl thousend Flemyngys / and semblably it was doon but alwhyle a goon at the batayll of Lyege where as Johan duc of bourgoyne that son was to vhylyppe the

ſon of the kynge of Fraunce with a ſmalle quantyte of his men was victorious ayenſt /xxxbj/ thouſand Lyge oys/

¶ Deuyſeth yet the maniere of renguynge of bataylles/ ¶ Capitulo / xxiiij/

Nowe le it that it is ſayd here by fore and after of the maners of fyghtynge and of renguynge of an oost/ ſayen thauncient that of thys matyere haue ſpoken that the beſt manyere to gyue a batayll is in wundnes and that men putte many bataylles in the fore frontr / and at that ſyde that they knowe theyre enemyes ſhall come they ſhal kepe hem ſelf by gode ordynaunce wel myght clos togy der/ and wyth peyne ſhal they mowe be ouercome nor diſcon fyted thoughe that theyre enemyes be moo than they/ And yf it fall ſo that the aduerſaryes be of leſſe folke / the bata ylle ought to be then ordred and made in maniere of a hors ſhoo / and thus ſaythe he thou ſhalt ſtoppe hem aboute yf thou goo to hyt wyſely/ And yf the other be foyſon of folke ordeyne pe the batayll as wyth a ſharp ende before for to perſe forth/ But late the capytayne be wel aduyſed ſayth Vegece/ that at that ſame owre that the batayll ſhall aſſem ble he chaunge not thys maniere of ordre nor lede not fer nor there noo nombre of peple out of theyre ordynaunce/ For that were for to deſtroye all/ and ſhold putte trouble in hys bataylles / Nor nothyng profyteth more in a batayll ſaith he/ than to kepe the ordre that ought there to be kepte wyth the interualle or dyſtance that ought for to be betwix euery rowe/ For men ought to ſee by grete cure that they ouerpreſſe not eche other/ and that they alſo large not no:

ther ꝑ one from that other but ſhal kepe themſelf in conena-
ble ordre togyder/ For they ꝑ were to nygh̄e eche other ſhuld
leſe theyr ſtrokys and theyr fyghtyng for lacke of more
rowme and ſpace & that one ſhuld ſo lette that other/ Al
ſo they that were ouer large ordred ſhuld gyue to theyr
ennemyes an entree thrugh̄e theym ſelf/ And ſo were
they in parell to be brokē and ſparpeylled a brode/ Where-
the feere that they ſhuld haue to ſee theyr ennemyes ſo or-
mely wythyn them / ſhuld yelde hem as dyſperate and lo-
ſte/ ¶ Yet ſayth Vegece / that by fayre ordre ought to
make an yſſue in to the felde where as the capytayne by
dyuerſe tymes ſhal haue putte hem in ordynaunce for to
ſhewe vnto theyme / how that they ought to maynten and
be haue hem ſelf when the batayll̄e ſhal come in hande / the
fyrſt batayll̄e ſo ordred as it ought for to be / and the ſecon
de batayll̄e after and the other ſo that the ordynaunce be in
euery poynt kepte as it is ſayd by fore/ And ſom capytay-
ne ſayth he hath had a maner to tourne theyr batayl-
le in a ſquare and ſyn in a maner of a tryangle that men
called at that berſuell / ¶ And thys maner of ordyna-
unce hath proffyted muche in batayll̄e / And when eny
grete ſtrēgthe of ennemyes dyde comme vpon hem / they
putte hem ſelf in a rounde and the beſt to the formeſt ward
and ſo kepte theyrs that they tourned not for to flee and
that they were not ouer charged with to grete a dommay-
ge/ ¶ And a maner had the auncyent that they putte
neuer al theyr folke in one aſſemblee / but made many
batayllles / to thende they that were freſſhe ſhuld comme
for to ſecoure & helpe theym that were wery/ And bythys
wyſe with peyne they myght be diſconfyted all for that whi
che one batayll̄e loſte / that other batayll̄e wouned hyt ayen

¶ Neuertheles al dedes of batayll ben woon at aladventure/ wherfore noon ought to truſt therto in hope to haue the better of hyt by cauſe that often tymes it falleth al contrary to that / whiche men thought a fore / ¶ Example hereof / For who ſhuld euer haue troubled that that of the lyght grete oofles and grete aſſemblees of men of the Cartagyens / and of the commayns that werred eche other / ſhulde the ſlaughter and occyſyon be ſoo equall in a batayll / that ones be felle byfwene hem / ¶ For there abode not one man a lyue of neythre of bothe partyes / ¶ Item he ſayth / that that day that the batayll muſt be It is conuenable for men for to ete lytyl to thende they haue a longer breth and that they may be the more lyght and more moeuable / ¶ But ſom goode wyne ought men to drynke who that may / by cauſe that the wyne moeuyth the ſpyrytes and the ſtrengthes of man ſo that it be meſurably taken / ¶ And it happeth of tymes ſayth he that almoſt all the corages of men are troubled in hem ſelf whan they ſhal goo to the batayll / but to theym that be fyrſt chaffed and angry is the force and hardynes encreced wythyn hem / and doo forgete al parell / ¶ And therfore the wyſe capytayne for to gyue a cauſe vnto hys men to be more fyers and hardy / ought for to haue had them fyrſt at a ſcarmyſſhe ayenſt the aduerſaryes to thende that for the ſtrokys and ſorys that they haue receyued of them they may be in anger and chaffed vpon them / ¶ And yet he ſayth that the laſſe wyſe and the laſſe bolde are wont for to gyue vp the eſcrye by fore that the batayll be bygonne Whyche thyng ought not for to be doo / ¶ But the callyng and the ſcry ought to be wyth the fyrſt ſtrokys / ¶ The auncyent had a

vesprete in thassemblyng of theyre bataylles that the men of armes were not made a ferde in batayll by the seye and alarme that the landysshe peple or comons maken som tyme/ ¶And therfore they instructed and aduysed them therof by certeyn sowne of a trompette/ ¶Also thoo that be not exercysed in armes nor lerned Pedoubten sore the batayll/ And therfore the boke sayth/ that suche men ought to be occuppyed in other thynges than in fayttys of werre/ ¶For thoos that neuer sawe noo may kylde nor noo shedyng of bloode they are a ferde to see hyt/ And for thys cause whan they ben atte hyt/ theyre thoughte is more to flee/ than to fyght/ and thus they may lette more/ than doo eny auayll atte lest yf they be not put vndre the rule of som good captaynes/ ¶Som saye that they ought to be putte by fore all the other to gyder/ And som sayen nay/ but ought to be medled emonge the goode/ ¶Yet agayne/ for to speke shortly by recappytulacyon of that that is conenable to be kept in the ordynaunce of bataylles after the teghyng of the noble auncyent/ ther ben seuen thynges whereupon the gode cappytayne ought to take kepe vnto/ ¶The fyrst is that he haue take fyrst the aduauntayge of the place yf he may as it is sayde a fore where as he shall haue sette hys peple in fayre ordynaunce/ ¶The secon-
conside- conde/ that they be at the one syde of them shelded or
ry Cap^me pauesed with hylles that nought may lette them/ or elles with the see or with a ryuere or som other thynge that shall lette that noon ennempes shall comme come vpon them of that syde/ ¶The thyrde/ that they haue nother sonne nor wynde that can combre theyre fyght with pouldre or glysterynge/ The fourth ỹ muche conenable is to

them that they ſhal knowe yf they can the eſtate of theyre ennemyes/ Whate nombre of peple they haue whiche waye they comme and in whyche array / ¶And what ordre they kepe / For after the knowleege of the ſame they may ordeyne and ſette hem ſelf to the beſt for to abyde and to re-ceyue them / ¶The fyfthe/that they be not mated nor trauaylled nor made the more feble for honger/ ¶The ſyxth that they muſte be al of one corage and purpos for to kepe the place/and to be wyllyng rather to dey than for to flee awaye / ¶And thus ſuche men ſhal not be brought lyghtly vnto noo manere of diſconfyture / ¶And the ſeuenth is that theyre ennemyes knowe not what theyre entencyon and purpoos is/nor what they thinke for to doo /nor what cours they wyl take / ¶Neuertheleſſe after that/ that it is ſayd a boue the falles and the aduentures of the batayl-les ben wonderfull and merueyllous / For hyt happeth at ſuche a tyme as god wylle helpe that one partye and nought that other / ¶As it dyde fall that tyme whan the commayns fought ſom tyme wyth the two myghty kynges of Oryent Jugurta and Boctyus/ ¶For at that tyme as the hete of the ſonne was ſo brennynge hoot and ſo feruent that almoſt hyt ſmoldred the commayns / ſodaynly roſe vp a wynde ſo myghty and ſo grete that the archers ſhot/of whyche thees two kynges had foyſon/ had as almoſt noo vertue / and ſyn came a rayne that refreſ-ſhed al the commayns whiche thyng was contrary to ỳ other by cauſe hyt ſlaked the cordes of theyre bowes/ & theyre ele-phantes wherof a grete plente was there whiche is a beſte that can not wel ſuffre hoet nor watre a boute hem/ myght vnnethe moeue hem ſelf & ỳ gyrdell that held vp the caſtell vpon theyre backes were alſo ſlaked and the caſtelles char

ged wyth water that sore combred them/ ¶And by thys maner of waye the Rommayns that al redy had recoured theyre strengthe by the refresshyng of the rayne / dyde enbayshe so sygourously theyre ennemyes / that holde be it that they were mucke lasse in quantyte of peple yet they obteyned and had the victorye/

¶Denyseth after Vegece of vij maneres of arrengyng of an oost and of fyghtyng ¶Capitulo/xxviij°

Yet after Vegece in hys thirde boke in the eyght and elleuenti chapytre there ben/vij/ maneres of waayes holde an oost shal fight in a felde and vij maneres of ordynaunces of bataylles/the whiche waayes and maner holde be it he gyueth hem derkly ynough for to be vnderstanden / but onely of suche that ben exercysed in thoffyce & maystrye of armes they ben declared here as folowyth / The first maner of rengynge of folke in a felde is that whiche is to be made wyth a longe fore fronte as men doo nowe/but this maner of way as it is said is not ryght gode/by cause that the space of the growonde muste be longe and that the oost be al stratched in lengthe/and hit happeth not alwayes that the place of the felde is founde proper nor mete so for to doo / ¶And whan there ben dyches or dales or som euyll pathes the bataylle is lyghtly wroken by the same/ And wyth this thaduersarye yf they be eny grete nombre of folke they shall goo to the ryght syde or to the left syde and so they shal enuyrone and close the bataylle a boute wherby many a grete parell may be fall/as thauctour sheweth that saythe that if cas be that thou haue more foison of peple than they ennemye hath/take of the best of thy folke & enuyrone thyn

aduersaryes yf thou may wythin the bosom of thyn ooste/ The secunde manere is leste for yf thou ordeyne by the same a felwe of thy folkie mooste valyaunte and wel assayed in som place conuenable thou shalt mowe haue lyghtly the victorye/thoughe thyn enemye hath more people/ of the wholyche manere the waye of fyghtynge/is suche/that whan the battaylles comen for to assemble togider / thou shalt chaunge thenne thy lyfte wynge from hyr place in to another to thende that thou mayste see ferre vnto the ryght cornere of thyn enemye/ and thy ryght wynge thou shalt Joyne wyth the lefte wynge of thyn aduersaryes/and there by the best men of thyn ost thou shalt begynne the bataylle sharply and stronge/And by grete strengthe both an horsbakie and on foote /the sayd lyfte wynge of thyn enemyes shal be assayled of thy men that shal goo a boute shouynge and rennyng vpon tyl that they comme at the backie of thyn enemyes / ¶And yf thou mayst onys departe a sounder thyn enemyes that ben so comyng vpon thy folkie wythout doubte thou shalt obteyne the victorye / ¶And that one partie of thyn ost that thou shalt haue withdrawen from the other shal be sure / ¶Thys manyere of bataylle is ordeyned after the lyknes of thys lettre /A/ And yf thyn enemyes ordeyne theyre bataylle after thys manere of waye and make yssue fyrst oute/then shalt thou putte thy men in a longe rowe that shal marche forthe all of a fronte wyth thy wynges all in a gode ordynaunce atte the lyfte corner of thyne ooste and by thys manere of waye thou shalt wythstande thyn ennemyes/ ¶The thyrde maniere is lyke vnto the seconde and noo dyfference is there betwene / But that thou muste sette fyrst wyth the lefte corner of thy bataylle vpon the ryght corner of thyn ennemyes

¶ And yf thy lefte wynge is better than thy ryght wynge / than shalt thou putte with hit som ryght strong and best fyghtyng men bothe on horsbake and on fote and see that thou first of all whan it commeth to assemble togider hand to hande/that thy lyfte/wynge be Joyned and sette vpon the ryght wynge of thin enempes/and asmuche as thou canst/putte from the a backe ỹ ryght hande of thyn aduersaryes/and make haste for to enuyrone theym/ And that other parte of thyn ooste whyche thou knowest not so stronge/dysseuere theym asmuche as thou canst from that other contrary wynge/so that speres nor dartes may not lyght vpon theym/And thou muste take kepe that thyn enemyes make not a plowmpe of theyre folke to entre and breke thy bataylle in trauers / In thys maner therme men fyghten profytably/and in specyall yf the fall happeth that the lefte corner of thyn enempe be of lesse strengthe than is the thyne / The fourth maner of fightyng in a felde is suche whan thou shalt haue ordeyned thy bataylles with foure or fyue hondred fyghtyng men/or euer thou make eny approche vpon thin enemies thou shalt so sodaynly doo moeue thin ooste secretly with bothe thy wynges in a gode ordynaunce / that from bothe the corners of thyn enemyes as nought purueyed shal be constrayned for to tourne theyre backes and flee awaie/and yf wysely thou canst do so thou shalt haue victorye/¶But this maniere/al be it so that thou haue men ryght stronge and wel exercysed in armes/I holde hit perylloufe/For yf the half of thy bataylle is constrayned to dessenere and departe thyn ooste in two partyes / and that thyn enempes be not ouercome at the first comynge on they shal haue occasion to assaylle thy men of armes that thus ben deuyded/ ¶ The fyfthe maner of fyghtyng is

lykie vnto the fourth but so mocke more it is/that ỹ archers and they that ben lyghtly armed shalbe ordeyned by fore the fyrst batayll/to thende that they be not broken out of ordynaunce/And shal also assayll & enuayssh with the ryght corner of hys batayll/the lefte corner of hys enemye/and with the lyfte the ryght/And yf thou mayst do so/thou shal soone ouercome theym/But the myddell batayll is not in peryll by cause it is defended by them that ben lyghtly armed and by the archers /The sixth maner of fyghtynge is right gode and almost lykie vnto the seconde/And with the same are wont the good fyghters to helpe semself in hope of victorye how wel that they be but a fewe folkie for to ordeyne wel theyre bataylles /The batayll of the enemyes thenne al ranged in a rowe/thou shalt Joyne thy ryght corner to theyre lyfte/& there thou shalt begynne the batayll with the best men that thou hast on horsbacke and a foote/And that other parte of the ost shal folowe of fewe the batayll of thyn enemye/the whyche parte shal be spred all streyght/and yf thou canst come to the lyfte wynge of thyn enemyes they muste nedes tourne theyre backys/and thaduersary may not be so coured of hys ryght wynge nor with hys myddle batayll he can not helpe the other/For the tayll of the ooste is extended vnto the lykines of the moost long lettre / L/& fro fewe hyt departeth from hys enemye/

¶ Of the same ¶ Capitulo xxvij/

The seueth maner of fyghtyng is whan the rowme & the place is propyce for hym that fyrst taketh the feld that is to wyte yf thou hast a place where as at the one syde of hyt thyn enemyes can not come/as it is sayd for cause of the see/or of flodes or of montaygnes/ mares/grounde or other lettigis how be it that thou haue good men and well

ranged in bataille by gode ordynaunce/And at that syde of the place where as noon suche lettyng is / thou shalt putte thy men on horsbacke/and therme fyght surely yf thou be assayllid/For by the sayd lettyngis thou arte kept sauf of that one parte and lyke wyse of that other parte by the strêgthe of them that be on horsbacke /And it is to be take hede vnto/what syde that thou wylt fyght/that thou putte fyrst the mooste valyaunt men /And for eny lytel quantyte of pple that thou haue be not dysmayed therfore / For victorye hath wel accustumed to be had of felle fyghters / so that the wyse duc ordeyne them there as proffyte and raysoy requyreth and it is to wite that namely thesame tyme they holpe hem self in theyre bataylles by dyuerse maneres of engyns and wyles for to breke the bataylles/at it is sayd here before/as of oxen that had the fyre sette vndre theyre taylles that were chassed towardis the partye aduerse/And namely also they vsed at that tyme wyth semblable engyns as ben thoo that nowe be called Pyballodekyns/ For euyn thus were they sette vpon a wheele and a man wythyn as wythyn a lytyl castell that was made al of yron / and shot with a gonne or with arbalaster/And had at euery syde of hym an archer/and sharp yrons were dressed to the foresyde of thesame engyn/as hyt had ben sperys / And wyth the strengthe of men or of horses made many of suche engyns to entre al attones wythyn the bataille of the enemyes/

¶ The ordre and the maner that the capytayne ought to kepe when any good Fortune is for hym ¶ Capitulo/xxviij

Some that knowe not wel the tournes of armes where for to holpe hem self in a bataylle wyth closynge of theyre enemyes wythyn a certeyn compace of a

place/or by enuyronnyng of hem wounde a boute with mul:
tytude of folke so that they can not yssue out by noo waye/
but this doeth moche to be doubted For hardynes groweth
wythyn the hertes of thoos that ben so enclosed a boute / by
cause that the more that they thynke hem self but as ded
or ouercomen hauyng noo hope to come nor escape out they
wol selle full dere her owne flesshe/or they be take And ther
fore was the sentence of Scypyon preysed that sayde / that
men ought to make alwaye to the enemyes where thrughe
they may flee/and to putte abusshement where as they shal
passe fore by/For whan they ben so sore ouerpressed and see
alwaye where they may go out yf they wyl/they wol soone
take hyt and putte hem self to flyght twoyng to be sauffe
therby and thenne they may be bettre thus slayne / than in
deffensyng of them self/And many caste fro them theyre ar
mures & harnoys for to flee more lyghtly / and thus they
ben slayne as bestes by them that chasse them/ And the mo
re grete multytude that they be/the greter is theyre confusy:
on /For noo nobis ought to be sette by there as the corages
ben for fere dyscomfyted al redy/The wise men of armes
sayen that whan a good fortune cometh to that one of the
two partyes so that she ouercometh that other partye in ba:
taylle/men ought for to pursyewe styl hys good fortune al
vnto the ende while that she endureth and that the enemies
ben assaylled/and not to be ouer ioyfull nor so proude for so
what of victorye that is had at the begynnynge /that men
leue all wenyng to recouere hit of lyght agayne /as many
haue founde them self deceyued therby that neuer syn conde
happe to haue hyt/for a witnes where of may be taken han
ibal the whiche yf he had goon after the bataylle of Cannes
streyght to rome he had taken hit without gaynsayng

of ony man/ For the romayns were so affrayed and so full of sorowe for theyre grete losse that to gaynsaye at that owre they durst not/ but he that wende to retourne there at hys pleasure when it shold please hym/ and that waytyd but onely to dyspoylle the countre a boute from al maner of ryches colde neuer syth com therto hold wel that he forced hym self wyth al hys power so to doo/

¶ Here sheweth another maner of waye that the chyef capytayne ought to kepe when that the fortune of the bataylle is ayenst hym/ ¶ Capitulo /xxbij°/

NOw is there another poynte/ that is to wyte/ yf one parte of the ooste ouercometh/ and that other parte fleeth/ that parte that kepeth & abydeth stedfastly/ may trusste to haue the victory/ For dyuers tymys it hathe be kno wen that they that men helde vnder haue gotyn the felde at ỹ laste/ Therfore ought suche peple to reyse hemself by callynge of mouthes & by sowne of trompettes wherby they may moeue & brynge the enemyes in to affere in comfortyng of hemself/ as thoughe they were victorpouse in euery parte of theyre oste/ And yf it happeth that the myscheffe be throughe al thyn oste/ neuerthelesse thou ought to sekie a remedy therũto/ for fortune somtyme hath recouered to theyre aboue many one that fled alwaye/ And the wise men of armes sayen that in fayttes of a playne bataylle the capytayne ought to be purueyed and aduysed how he shal gadre agayne to gyder his folkie/ as the goode pastour doeth hys shepe/ for how be it that they al begine to flee & renne alwaye he ought to be awaytyng with al his power for to saue theym that be so ouercome & to withdrawe hem about hym in to som cornere of a waye/ or vpon a hille yf eny be nyghe hym/ or in to som other sure place/ & yf he may thus gadre togider ayen som quãtyte

of valyaunt men in good ordynaunce of array they ſhal
moſte greue full ſore theyr enemyes/for comonly it falleth
that they that purſyeue the chaſſe ſolyſſhly & that be out of
ordynaunce here & there/ben ſoone putte to flyght yf theyre
aduerſaryes werke wiſely / And thus are ſlayn they that
chaſſed fyrſt/and noo gretter confuſyon may come a mon-
ge hem/thenne whan theyre pryde & fyerſnes is ſo chaunged
& tourned in to a drede/And therfore what ſomeuere aduē-
ture that falleth men ought to recomforte and redreſſe by co
uenable exortacyons theym that ouercome/ & to bringe hem
togider ayen/and to garnyſſhe the wounes ayen with new
men & harnoys yf men can/And a ſouldayne helpe behoueth
thēne to be thoughte vpon the ſouddayne aduenture that
come/That is to ſee how a watche ſhalbe ſo ſette that the en
nemyes that haue followed them may be recontred in ſom
place / And thus by the good capytayne ſhal the fere of
them that rēne alwaye be tourned in to boldnes for to with
ſtande & purſiewe yf nede be / Wherfore the good capytayne
ought neuere to dyſpeyre hym ſelf of what ſoeuere a fortu-
ne that cometh to hym yf he be wyſe/ For oftymes it falleth
that thurghe a good hope of proprye fortune/ they that trowe
to haue wonnen all/arreyſe hem ſelf in to arrogaunce Wher
by not ſo wiſely as they ſhold doo they ſette vpon theyre ene
myes the whyche that be wel aduyſed receyue them with
grete courage and beteth hem/ And by this ought the goode
capytayne to ſee vpon all ſuche falles that moſte happen /
by cauſe it hath happed ful often as it is ſayd/that they that
were ouer come and chaſſed /had ſoone after the victorye
vpon theyr enemyes / And to knowe that it is ſoo / the
fall of the vowmayns ſheweth hyt al ynoughe/wherenne they
were diſcomfyted at the batayll of Cannes / wherby they

at/as dyſperate that they ſhulde neuer more be of powder to
wynneve eny good hap or proppre fortune / Wolde for ſake
theyre owne cyte/and chese in to ſome other partyes theyre
place of habytacyon/ But one of theyre prynces that ryght
wiſe was & valyaunt kepte hem here fro ſayeng that he ſhuld
fyght ayenſt hem yf cas were that they went/ And thus he
putte hem in hope of a bettre fortune / and aſſembled theym
ayen al togyder/ And of gadred folke he made many kmyghtes/ and with ſuche a power as he myght haue he went and
aſſaylled hanybal that neuere had thought that he ſhulde
haue wen ſoo / and thus tolde hym vnpurueyed / & was at
that owre ſo entyerly dyſcomfyted that he neuere ſyth cowde haue vyctorye vpon the wommayns /

¶ Here folowyth a ſhort recapytulacyon of ſom thinges that hey ſayd a fore/ ¶ Capitulo/xxix

¶ O recapytule ſhortly almoſt all the ſubſtance of that
¶ Wohiche vegece woyl ſaye in hys bokke where as by epplo
gacyon in maneve of prouerbys at the ende of hyt he ſayth
thus/ Thou that woyl haue worſhyp in armes / doo that
the lore of yougthe kenneth the to be a mayſtre of the tour-
nes & fayetes of kmyghthode in thy parfyt age/ For a more
fayre thing it is to ſay I can thys & that / that to ſaye ha a
Wohy haue I not lerned/ doo euere after thy powere all that
may ſette thyn enemye/ and that may be profytable for the
For from that tyme that thou ceaſſe to greue hym/ thou hur-
teſt & lettеſt thy ſelf/ doo ſoo that thou knowe the kmyght-
tes or euere thou lede hem to the felde/ For moche bettre it is
to doubte hys enemye kepyng hym ſelf vpon hys warde ſu-
rely/ than to truſt vpon folke that men knowe not in a fel-
de/ and a grete ſurete it is for to calle hys enemyes that he
wonne albay Wolo that may for they may hurte more fore the

aduersaryes/ than they that be slayne/ And the capytayne
with prine is ouercome/that with the hys and with his ad
uersary may help hym self/And better it is to kepe a syde al
mought and ayde beside the batayll y venged/ than to ma:
ke an ouer bygge batayll hauyng noo socoure be syde it/ for
they that be weery may be holpen by them that comen freshly
vpon to socoure theym/ and more helpeth vertue/than multy
tude/And often is a wyse bettre than hys strength in a
felde /A man proffyteth by labour/and by ydelnes he wast:
eth/ Late noo knyght be had led to a batayll but that
hys trust be to haue the victorye for yf he mystrusteth in his
courage/he is as half ouercome / And the thynges that so
daynly be doon fere full sore the ennemyes / Who that fole:
weth the chasse vpon hys enemye vnwysely he putteth hys
enemye in a hope to haue that victorye that he hymself had
had fyrst Who that apparayleth not the batayll in ay ooste
he is ouercome without stroke/ To kepe ordre in a felde as
ryght wold/gyueth victorye lothe to the stronge and to the
feble/ whan thou knowest that the spyes of thyn enemyes
are hydyng hem self a bout thyn ost/make thy folke to with
drawe within theyre lodgis/yf thou hast euy suspecyon that
thy counseyl be shewed vnto the enemyes/ chaunge thyne
ordynaunce/ Noo counseylles ben so good / as they whrof
the enemies haue noo knowlage of vnto the time that thei
be brought a werke /Aduenture gyueth often victory mo
re than doeth force/Impossyble it is to Jugge to the certeyn
the ende of the batayll of whiche fortune dysposeth/Al that
is contrary to thin entencyon thou ought treatte and shewe
amonge many one /But thy propos thou ought to say or
shewe vnto fewe folke/with drawe towardys the/the herte
of straūgers by yeftes and by promesses/and chastyse thyn

alone folsie throughe thretenynges/ By cause that good ex
pytaynes redoubteyng the fortune of batayll̃e are lothe to
fyghte boyth an oost assembled togyder/ Grete wisedom it is
to constrayne hys enemye more by honger than by yron/

¶ Here fynysseth the fyrst partye of thys present boke/

HEre begynneth the table of the rubryces of the secon
de partye of thys boke whiche speketh of the cadotskes
or boyles of armes after frontyn that calleth theym Stra-
tagemes/ And of the ordre and maniere of fyghtyng/ and
deffensyng of tollones and castelles after vegece and other
Auctours/ And to gyue batayll̃e aswell vpon ryuers as/
vpon the see
¶ The fyrst chapytre speketh of Scypyon
¶ The seconde of maryus and of Certoryus/
¶ The thyrde of theym of the cyte of Goyaury of Hanibal
and of Denys the tyraunt
¶ The fourth speketh of theym of hyspayne /of Alyxaun-
dre/ of Pyrre/ of Laptenes/ of Hanybal/ and of other/
¶ The fyfeth of menoles kynge of the vvodes of Scipy-
on of Certoryus of hanybal of Aconyolo and of Fulyr-
us nobylyus/
¶ The sixth of Aconyolo duc of dace/ of Fuluyus nobili
us of pamondas duc of thebes/ of Fabyus maxymus/ of
Scypion Affrychan the seconde /and of Certonius
¶ The vij/ of the Lacedemonenis/ of Julyus cesar/ of Pa-
pyrius cursor/ and of Pompee
¶ The viij/ of the grete Alyxandre of Cesar augustus
and of Crathes duke of athenes
¶ The ix/ chapitre contryneth of Symacus kynge of Ma-

cxonye/of Fabyus maximus/of Denys the tyraunt/of Alexaunder/and of Yphytrates
¶ The/v/of Amulcar duk of Cartage of haymo Emperour of Affrycke of Hanybal and of Valerius/
¶ The/vi/speketh of Cesar of Domycyus of Cynylius of Scyppon of Gayus
¶ The/vii/of Hanybal of a kynge of Grece and of another kynge of semblable cas & of the romains that had nede of souldyours
¶ The/viii/chappytre speketh of the voyle of the romaynes/of Quintus metellus and of Hanybal
¶ The/viiii/begynneth to speke of the manere of besyegyng of tolones & castelles and fyrst how they shuld be espyed/
¶ The/x/deuyseth of the garnysons that belongen to castelles and tolones in tyme of veyre
¶ The/xi/how a forteresse ought to be garnysshed and purueyed of fresshe vatre
¶ The/xii/how it is nedefull that to the garnison of a forteresse be putte true men vithin the same and shewed hit by ensample
¶ The/xiii/chappytre speketh of kyng of a syege and of assalotes enformed after vegece
¶ The/xiv/of an ordunaunce in kyng of a siege & of that vhiche longeth for to saluer a ryght stronge place after the tyme present
¶ The/xv/deuyseth vhat poudres longen to gonnes and other engyns
¶ The/xvi/speketh of certeyn engyns ỹ be called mantelles
¶ The/xvii/of the instrumentys that muste be had for to carye all suche thinges as bylongen to ỹ fayres of assalotes
¶ The/xviii/of the habyllementys that nede therunto/

¶ The/xxxiij/ speketh folowyng of thabyllementys that be nedefull for the shot

¶ The/xxxv/ of certeyn other habyllementes

¶ The/xxxvj/ gonnes and stones

¶ The/xxxvij/ of other habyllementys or Instrumentes for to vndermyne/

¶ The/xxxviij/ of the tymber that ought to be had for to make that vehicle folowyth

¶ The/xxxix/ of the werkmen & labourers that be nedefull for makyng of the forsayd habyllementes/

¶ The/xxxx/ deuyseth of the vytaylles and habyllementes how they shal be conducted and the passages kepte

¶ The/xxxxj/ chapytre speketh of certeyn establyshyngis

¶ The/xxxxij/ deviseth the maner to stoppe the port of the enemyes

¶ The/xxxxiij/ of suche engyns that ben couenable as Vegece saith in fayttes of assaute

¶ The/xxxxiiij/ begynneth to speke of saluteyngis of townes and castelles after Vegece/

¶ The/xxxv/ sheweth the remedyes ayenst the forsayd engyns of assaute

¶ The/xxxvj/ of a remedye ayenst the vndermynyng of a Castel/

¶ The/xxxvij/ begynneth to speke of batayllis that be doon vpon the see

¶ And the/xxxviij/ chapytre deviseth of the garnysons that ben couenable and nedefull for folkis that goo to any armee vpon the see

¶ Here folowyth the seconde partye of this present boke which speketh first of the caluacades & voyses of armes Wherein the first chapytre speketh of Scipyon

IN thys ſeconde partye that we haue deuyſed after be-
geee pryncypally the manieres that ſomtyme helde the
noble & valyaunt conquerours of the worlde in fayttes of
armes duryng the tyme of theyre greete conqueſtes / by cau
ſe that they colde well helpe hemſelf with moo than of one
maniere of werreyng / it ſemeth me good to thende that oure
matyere may be yet more encreaſed and multyplyed alway-
es to the proffyte of theym that purſyelven chyualrye / that
we adde vnto thys matyere the wayes and the manyeres
of the caluelles / ſubtylitees / and wyles that the ſaid aun
cyent conquerours vſed & helde in theyre dedys of werre /
whiche ſubtilites and wylis are called by the auctours that
haue therof ſpoken Stratagemes of armes / of the whyche
Stratagemes made a wyſe a valyaunt man that men cle-
pe Froncyus in whiche wyſe he deuyſeth and ſhewyeth the
propre dedes of the forſayd ryght noble and worthy conque
rours / the whiche to here may be of gode exſample to theym
that fynde them ſelf in ſuche a cas after the dyuerſytez of
the auentures of armes / out of whyche wyſe we haue ex-
ſtracted to oure proffyte ſom tytles / Thus thẽne ſaith fyrſt
the ſayd Auctour Froncyus that the worthy conquerour
prynce and hed cappytayne of the greete ooſt of the romayns
Scyppon the Affrycan that all hyſpayne / Affrike / and
Cartayge dyde conquerre by the ſwerde / ones emonge other
as he was wyth a greete ooſt vpon the feldes ayenſt the
kynge Syphax that ſemblably was commyng ayenſt hym
wyth a greete ooſt of folke / dyde ſende toward the ſayd kyn
ge as by maniere of ambaxade one of hys kynyghtes named
lelius with the whiche he committed to goo ſom of his mooſt
wiſe captaines in armes in maniere of yomẽ or as they had

le litel ſeruantes to thende that by all Wayes they ſhuld ſee & aduyſe Wel lothe the ordre & the manyere & the quantyte of the ſayd kinge Hyphaxes oost/Whiche capytaynes as they Were come there endeuoyred them ſelf ſo Wel ỹ nought they forgate but they tolde good hede Vnto and for to ouerſee lettre all the oost they ſeyntly lete for the nones goo loos one of theyre horſes as he had eſcaped & broken loos from theym Wherby they folofwyng after all a boute ſalue playnly all that Was in theſame oost and as Wyſe & ryght conmyng in ſuche a cas marked al thynges full Well/ Wherfore after theyre retourne and theyre reporte made Vnto theyre duke Scyppon that by theyre ſayeng knelwe that grete plente of ſtuble & of rede Was in the ſayd kyngys oost/ ſonde alſo eye that fyre Was putte by nyght therunto in many places And this woon as the enemyes Were leſy & alwayted for to ſocour theyre lodgys from the fyre/ he ranne Vpon theym in a gode ordynaunce/ And by thys Waye full ſubtylly diſ comfyted theym Vttyrly the ſayd duke Scippon/

¶ Of the duke Maryus & of Xertoryus of dynlyus & of pryeles/ ¶ Capytulo/ ij/

MAryus ryght cheualrouſe duke of the oost of the rom mayns Whan he Was ſette for to fyght ayenſt a folkie full fyers & proude that men named Tymbres or otherWiſe called Thelotoniquys/had in hys oost many ſouldyours out of Gallya/ And to this propos for to enſyelwe the tre chig of the Wiſe that ſayth proue the man or ye truſte hym muche/he Wolde proue the trouthe and obeyſſace of the ſaid ſouldyours of fraunce/his lettres he ſent to them Where as emõge other thynges deffẽded & charged theym ſtraitly that they ſhuld not open aſelwe lettres Whyche Were choſed Within the grete lees that he ſent to theym Vnto a certeyn day that

was named therynne/but or euere the day was come he set
agayne for theym & for thoo that were open/And where the
sayd souldyours had trespassed his comandement/he kneive
that they were nat trwe to hym/ wherfore he trusted theym
neuer after in noo grete thinge/ ¶ Itē a worthy knight na
med pertornus conductour of a grete ost cam in to hyspaine
where he had a ryuere to passe quere/& where his enemyes fo
lowed hym fast nyght for to renne vpon hym at an narowe
passage where he & his oost shuld passe ouere/he aduysed him
self of a cawtele/ he dide tary styl vpon the banke of the
watre and made his lodgis to be made there in maner of
half a cercle as in a compasse somwhat ferre fro the ryuer &
was al made of bowes & of wode/& fyn made hit to be sette
all on fyre / and while hit brenned thus he passed and his
oost ouer the watre surely ma wgre all his enemyes that
myght not come to hym but they muste come thrucche the fy
re/ ¶ Item dynlyus a duke of the romayns oost/where as
he ones to boldly had auaunced him self in to the hauen of
ỹ cyte of Cyracuse where hys enemyes were that for to clo
se him therynne dyde heue vp the chayne/but whan he sawe
this wel & fayre he chesyed therwith/for the prowere whi:
che is the foremest partye of the shippe he made to be tourned
towarde the chayne syde/& the poupe whiche is the hinder:
most partye of the shippe was towarde the syde of the lande
& thenne soone he made hys men to drawe them self all to
the poupe/and thus was the formest partye of the shippe
light so that hit heued vp a boue & with strengthe of ores
made a grete part of the shippe to leue vpon the chayne / &
thenne he made hys men to goo ayen to the formest partye
of the shyppe / And thenne was the hyndermest partye
of the shyppe heued vp / ¶ And thus wyth force of

oryg the ſhyppe paſſed oder the chayne/ And by this wor
ye he ſcaped fro that parell/ ¶ Item perycles ſomtyme du:
ke of Athenes was ones by theym of the cyte of Pelopo:
nes that chaſſed hym/dryuen in to a place that was cloſed
with hygh & horryble montaynes & were but two yſſues/
and whan he ſaw this/he dyde doo make ſoone at the one of
the yſſues a grete & a depe dicke as thoughe he dyde ſoo to
thende hys enemyes ſhulde not entre vpon hym atte that
ſyde/ and at that other parte he lede hys men as thoughe he
wolde alwayes to yſſue oute there/ And whan the enemies
ſawe thys by cauſe that they wolued not/that he wolde nor
myght haue goo ouer the dycke alwaye/they ſette hemſelf for
to haue deffended that other yſſue lyke as they wolde haue
beſieged hym therynne/but perycles that malycyouſly dyde
ſoo made ſoone good brygges that he had do make to be ſet
te ouer the dycke/And by this maner he went hys waye
wythout knowlege of hys enemyes

¶ Of them of the cyte of Boyany of hanybal and of De
nys the Tyraunt/ ¶ Capitulo /iiij/

IN the tyme of the conqueſtes of rome it happed ones
that the oоſt of the romayns ſholde paſſe by the foreſt
that is called Latyne for to goo vpon the cyte of Boyany
And whan the dwellers were aware of hit they went ſoo
ne in to the ſayd foreſt & dyde ſawe all tho trees by the wa
ye there as they ſhulde paſſe by/ ſo that a lytel thinge wolde
haue brought hem downe/ and after they had thus doon they
hyed hem ſelf within the thykke buſſhes of the foreſt/ And
whan the ſaid oоſt was entred therynne / they that were
hyde lepte fourth/ ¶ And dyde ſhoue the trees that thus
were ſawed vpon the oоſt of the Romayns ſo that
a grete parte of theym were ther by ſelf adoune

and slayne / And by al thus they were delyured quyt & free fro the said ooste / And semblably thys was another tyme doon / ¶ Item Hanybal prynce and emperour of Cartayge and of Affryke was alwayes wont to lede many elephauntes with hym in bataille / It happed hym onces that he muste passe ouere a grete watre and there was no way to passe hys elephantes / but he aduysed hym self of a subtylyte / He had in hys company a man emonge other that coude swyme ryght well and was full of corage bolde and hardy / to hym he comaunded that he shuld make angry one of the mooste cruell elephantes that he had there / and whan the man had doon hys comaundement and had hurted sore the elephante / he ryght soone plonged hym self in to the watre / And therme the grete beste full of yre and cruell folowed the man within the watre for to be auenged / & in lyke wyse all the other elephantes entred in to the ryuere after hym / and in thys maner the said Hanybal made hem all to passe ouer the watre / ¶ Item Denys the tyraunte prynce of Cyracuse in Cecylle kneelwe that they of Cartage wolde com in to Cecylle with a ryght grete ooste ayēst hym / ¶ So dyde he ryght wel garnysshe the tollwnes and castelles where they sholde passe by / And gaffe comaundement by hys ordynaunce that whan the enemyes were comme nyghe / that hys garnysons shulde yssue out of the castelles and tollwnes as thoughe they were a ferde and that they shulde come to hyme atte Cyracuse / And theune the Cartagyens that trowed to haue gotten all the contrey tolie & seased all the sayd fortresses & tollwnes & garnisshed them with theire owne peple / and of so muche was theyre ooste made lesse / And the ooste of Denys encreaced / whyche delyuered them bataylle soone after where they were ouercome

and the other cartagiens that kepte the ſaid tollones and caſtel les were famyſſhed/

¶ Of them of hyſpayne/of Alexandre/ of Pirre/of Rayenes/of hanybal/and of other ¶ Capitulo/xxj/

Upon a tyme the ſpaynardes ſhuld haue foughte ayenſt Amulcar ỹ leder was of the ooſt of Cartage where muche folkie were in a goode ordynaunce/They be thoughte hem ſelf of a wyle for to breke ỹ bataylle of theyre enemyes they tokie many oxen that dreſſe the plonghe/and enoynted with oyle and brymeſtone a ſtaffe that was putte vnder theyre tayle/and was all couered with tolle of flaxe that wel embyked were with oyle/and this oxen they dyde putte at the forefront of theyre bataylle when they ſhulde aſſemble wyth theyre enemyes/And whan the fyre was ſette in to the ſayd tolle they chaſſed and droof hem fourth ayenſt the Cartagyens/the whyche oxen as full of rage entred and brake al theyre bataylles /and ſo was the ſaid Amulcar diſcomfyted / ¶ Item Alexaundre prynce of Pirre /had werre ayenſt a folkie that men callid Illyriens that haue habytes and gownes dyfferent from al other garmẽtes/ The ſayd alexaundre tokie with hym a grete quantyte of hys men and clothed & rayde them after ỹ maniere of the Illyriens/And thus arrayed comaunded them that when the Illyryens were ſo nyghe that they coude ſee hem/they ſhulde take vpon hem ſelf for to brenne theyre owne cornes that grewe vpon the feldes and that they ſhulde make hem ſelf as be ſy as they wolde dyſtroye & waſte all/ ¶ Of the whyche thynge/the ſayd comandement accomplyſſhed / the enemyes that ſawe the ſame/trowed that they had be of theyre folkie/ & folowed them that ſo went fourth deſtroyng al thynges afore hem/Vnto ỹ tyme that they came in to a naw the whaie

Where as Alexaunder had putte a busshement/& there the al
lyens for the mooste parte were taken & slayne/ ¶Item
in lyke wise dide Lapenes prince of Syracuse to them of
the cyte of Cartage that vpon hym were come to batayll/
For he made hys owne men to sette on a fyre certeyn of
his owne townes & castelles/wherby the Cartagyens that
wende that it had be of theyre folie that thus wasted all/
wolde renne thider anoone/but Lapenes had sette awayte
for them by the waye where they muste passe/and thus they
were al slayne/ Item Hanybal the goode werryer duke of
cartage of whome I haue spoke afore/shuld ones goo vpon
theim of Affryckie that were rebell/and he knewe wel that
folkie was sore sette vpon this wine/So made he therme to
take thewof a grete quantyte & mêgled hit with certeyn herbe
that is called mandoglorye whiche maketh folkie to be soone
dronkie and slepy / And after al for the nonys made a lityl
batayll of hys peple to be redy to whom he comaunded that
they shuld renne awaye as thoughe they were afrde when
the enemyes shuld come nyghe hem / And whan the other
that trowed to haue wonnen all were come nyghe/Hanybal
with hys folie malyngne as he durst not abyde hem lefte his
lodgis al alone that was full of goodes and of this med-
led wyne and departed about nydnyght/and on the morne
whan the enemyes salwe there noo body they came to the
lodgis with grete Joye and dyspoilled hit about/and as fol
kie that dede was for honger ete glotonsly of the swete metes
and dronkie of the wynes evyl apparyllid for theym/ For
they all were made heuy a slepe and so dronkie therby that
they lay styl as ded men/Thenne came ayen hanybal whan
hym lyste and al them he dyde putte to the swerde/ ¶Item
thoos that fought ayenst a folkie that men called Herytros

tokie the ſwerde of theyre enemyes and made hem to confeſſe
& telle there counyne & theyre propos/ & after tokie theyre ray
mẽtes fro them & reuelſted theyre owne ſolkie with theſame
& made hem to cẽme by vpon a highe hille that they might
be ſeen of the oſt/ And bicauſe the enemyes had comaũded
to the ſayde eſpyes that after that which they ſhulde fynde
they ſhulde makie hem a ſygne/ and they that were vpon the
montayne made a ſigne that they ſhulde come more nyghe/
& they dide ſoo by cauſe they wende that hit had be theire eſpi
es in ſo muche that they entred in to the buſſhement of they
re enemyes/ where as they were al ſlayne/

¶ Of Menoles kyng of the wdes/ of Scypion/ of Xerto:
ryus/ of Hanibal/ of Lentulus/ of Marcello/ and of Ful:
uyus nobilius ¶ Capitulo /b/

Menoles kynge of the wdes was atte an ooſt ayenſt
his enemyes and had more & of better mendoy horſbac
ke than his aduerſaryes/ whiche kept the montaynes to thẽ
de that menoles myght not lyghtly befyght them/ Soo ad:
uyſed Menoles a calbotele for to makie them to come doune/
he tokie a kinyght of hys hoyſe & hardy / and hym charged
that he ſhuld behaue hym ſelf as one that was fled fro me
his ooſt & that was euyl content with hym & of his wages
& that he ſhulde goo to that other partye/ And he dyde as he
was charged/ And with other euylles & harmes that he ſhe
wed to hem of menoles/ he made them to byleue y throughe
his euyl ordynaunce was a grete diſcencyon in his ooſt/ &
that for theſame cauſe many one departed from hym/ and to
thende that they ſhulde byleue better thees thinges Menoles
dyde departe/ dyuerſe of his folkie ſo that they that were
vpon the hilles might ſee hem goo awaye/ but he made them
to be leyed in to dyuers buſſhementes here and there / And

by this maner of deceyte thoo that were vpon the montay-
nes cam doune whan they see the ost of Menoles so lessed
that they thought to be able for theym/ but ryght soone they
were enuyroned all about with the horsmen that killed and
slewe theym euerychone / Item whan scipion shulde ones
goo ayenst the spaynardes with a grete armee/ the kynge sy
phax sent hym certeyn messangers that shewed hym grete
thyrttynynges & wordes of grete feere/ as wel of the hardnes
of the lande/ as of the folke of the same & of theyre quantyte
& strengthe/ of the whiche thinge not sore affrayed was the
valyaunt man scypion but to thende that thise ambassadours
shulde not sprede suche wordes a brode emonge his folke wo
herby they myght be affrayed for he sent them full soone aga
yne & made wordes to be noysed about that the said kynge
had sent hym worde as to his frende that he shulde soone go
to hym/ Item certorius fonghte ones in a batayll/ where
one cam & colde hym that his constable was slayne/ but to
thende that his folke semblably shulde not knowe of hit wo
herby they shulde be a ferde/ he slewe with a spere that he held
the messanger/ Item in the tyme that hanybal descended in
to ytalye for to goo vpon rome / thre thousand carpenters
that he ledde with hym fled from his ost vpon a nyght /and
whan he knewe it/ bicause his folke shulde not be putte in
noo feere nor abasshed therfore/ He made wordes to be cast
throughe out hys ooste that they were soo goon by hys coma
undement/ and for to gyue credence and feyth to thees wor
des he sent yet dyuers other awaye that he knewe shulde doo
lytel good and that were symply armed/ Item a tyme that
Lentulus had assembled a grete ooste for to be fyght hys
enemyes and had taken in his companye a cohorte of mace-
donyens for to helpe hym/ a cohorte is/ vij/ C/ lyvij/ men / But

Wherby he thought to haue hem holpen of them/ they dide adayse hem self soone and out of hys ooste departed and went to that other partye/ And whan Lentulus that dyuers & many tournes of armes sawe/ sawe this he was not abayssed/ but coude wel take hem by theyre owne barat/ and also to thẽde that his ooste shuld haue noo feere therfore he made to be noysed a lout/ that for the nonys he had sent hem bifore for to medle and assemble fyrst with the enemyes / And for to gyffe a better byleue to this thynge he departed soone and folowed theym/ wherby it happed al in effette that wher fore he dide soo/ For the aduersaryes that sawe the macedonyens comynge wende that hit had be trewe/ and that they had come ayenst theym for to haue the first batayll / tourned toward them and began stongly to lanche vpon them and so of force they muste make deffence whether they wolde or not/ And Lentulus was atte that other parte that in the meane while enuayssed hys enemyes/ and by thys manere of waye he had the said Macedonyens to his helpe whether they wolde or not in so muche that he had the victorie

¶ Of Aeriolo duke of Dace of Fulvius nobilius/ of Pamynodas/ of Fabyus maximus/ of Scypion Affrycan the second/ of Sertorius/ and yet of Pomodas duke of Athenes ¶ Capitulo/ lj°/

That tyme that the wommayns were in dyssencyon the one ayenst the other and durying the enuyle were/ & where dyuerse natyons had syn the tyme of theyre prosperyte conceyued a greete enuye and dysdayne ayenst theym seemed by espreyall to them of dace that the tyme was come that they might wel renne vpon hem/ And where they had

dyuerse hymes admonested byfore thys theyre duke Aconta lo for to doo soo whiche wolde not be agreable therunto / he atte he last by cause that they pressed hym so sore / and for to gyue hem a knowlage by an example dide make dyuers dog ges to be brought byfore hym in a place byfore the palays and were sette that one vpon that other in so muche that they bigan strongly to be fyght eche other/ But in the moost strengthe of theyre batalle whan it semed that they were moost angry and fyers that nothinge coude departe hem/ he made a wolffe of whiche he was purueyed a fore to kepe emonges hem & assoone as the dogges salue hym they lef te the batalle that they had togider emonge hem/and they al of one accorde runne a noone vpon the wolffe/and by this example shewed the said duke to his men/ that what soeue re alwere that euy nacyon haue emonge eche other / they shall not suffre therfore/that a straūger shall hurte hem/ but rather they wold make accorde togider for to rēne vpon hym/ ¶ Item Fulupus nobilius hed capytayne of the ost of Romayns sonde hym self ones so nygh taken by them of Samoys that nede and force was to hym for to aby de the batayle /of the whiche thinge by cause that he sinelwe wel that his folke were sore a ferde by cause that theyre ene myes were of more quantyte than they were/he dyde aduy se hym self for to take alwaye theyre feere by thys cautele He sayd vnto hys folke and made hit to be cryed and pu blyed thrugh al his oost/ that he had tourned vnto hym for money the hertes of a hole legyon of the Samytes/ And that they shuld Joyne with hym whan the batayle shulde/ begynne for to helpe hym/ ¶ And by cause they shuld byle ue better thys thynge he howlwed of theym al the golde and the syluere that they might make / as though hit had be for

to prepare the said folke/ A legion of men is in nombre/vj
thousand/vj/ C/lxvj/ So it happed that for hope of this/the
romayns tolke so grete a boldnes in theire corages/that they
enuayssed hardyly & prondly ranne vpon theyre enemyes
whiche they sonde al ynoughe dyspurueyed by cause that
they preysed hem so lytel & setted nought by them for cause
that they were so selue folke to the syght of theym/ and so
the romayns vaynquissled the Samytes and gate the selde
vpon hem/ ¶ Item Pamynodas the worthy duke of The
bes shulde ones fyght ayenst theym of Lacedemonye/ So
dide he see in hym self for a subtylyte wherby the strengthe &
hardynes of corage might growe in hys men/ He made hem
al to come byfore hym and sayd thus al ahighe in audyence
that he wolde aduise hem of that that to his knowlege was
come for a trouthe/ It was that the Lacedemonyens had or-
deyned affirmably/ that yf they had the victorye they shul
de kylle and slee al the men and the women of Thebes/ and
that they shulde dystroye the cyte and shulde take the chyl-
dren in to thraldome perpetuelly/ For this denoncyacyon
they of Thebes moeued with grete yre & anger dide fight
sore as men that sette nought by theyre lynes and ouerca-
me the Lacedemonyens that more folke were without com
paryson/ ¶ Item Fabyus maximus shuld fyght ones
ayenst hys ennemyes and was hys ooste enforced ryght
wel with pales and of stronge lodgys wherfore he doubted
that hys folke shulde not fyght strongely ynoughe for cause
of the places where they had theyre wythdrawyght and refut
were so sure/ And therfore he made to be sette all a fyre or
euere he began to fyght/ ¶ Item Iohan Scypion the secon
de Affrycan conduyte hys seconde ooste in Affryke hit hap
ped hym to falle to the grounde Iohan he yssued out of hys

shippe/he soone behilde the contenaunce of his folkie & preceyued that they tokie this fall for ayenyll tokien/ & that they were al redy as dysconforted therfore/Thenne aduysed the ryght wyse warryour in hym self of a wise worde for to saie wherby he myght gyue surtye to his peple of theyre doubte/he bygan̄e to laughe & sayd boldly/O god be thou preysed here may ye see a good tokien For I am sesed al redy of the lande of Affrike hyt woyl be myne without faylle/And thus by this worde he tourned the euyl hope of his folkie in to a goode/the whiche thinge happed after as he had sayd/Item as pertonius shulde ones haue fought it appiered in his ost a merueyllouse signe/For the shelders of his men of armes and the brestis of theyre horses became al couered with blode the whiche thinge was to them occasion of a grete fere/but the valyaunt duk assured theym full wel/sayenge to them with a glade chere that it was a ryght gode tokien and that by the same they ought to vnderestande that they shulde haue the victorye For thees partyes ben thoo that are & ought to be comynly blody with the blode of the enemyes/Item pamynodas the worthy duk of Thebes shulde ones be fight the Lacedemonyens/and where the cas happed that the bataylle was somwhat dylated/hys chaere was brought vnto him for to sette a lytel vpon abydynge the olvre of the bataylle/but percase of aduenture hys chaere tourned vndre hym and fille vonne bespe/of the whiche thinge hys folkie were muche ab asshed and tokie hit for ayenyll betokinynge The said dukie thenne whiche wse vp quyckily sayenge vnto theym with a hardy face in thys wise/Nowe vp vp lyghtly my gode knyghtes the goddes doen forbede vs the sorowne and tarryenge/For they haue admonested vs by thys tokien for to goo soone to the bataylle/and ourc shal be the

hystorye/

¶ Here speketh of the Lacedomyens/ of Julius Cesar/ of Papyrius curso2 & of Pompee/ ¶ Capitulo/ lvij/

That tyme whan the Lacedomyens had werre to theyme of the cyte of Messynes/ they fynde ones by theire espyes for certeyne that the Messynyens were so fore settyn yre vpon them that they shulde bryngе to the bataylle bothe theyre wyues and theyre chyldren for to haue therby a gretter corage for to obteyne or ellis dye togider/ For the whiche thinge the Lacedemonyens with drewe them self and differde the bataylle/ Item Cesar had ones so brought hys enemyes by takyng of water awaye fro them/ that they dyeing for thruste were in dysperyr of theyre lyffe/ and as they that be forced with a grete rage yssued for to fyght with hym/ but he wolde not at that owre/ but withdrewe fayre hys men awaye/ For hym semed not good that they shulde fyght atte that tyme whan dysperacyon and wrath revoled the corage of the aduersaryes/ ¶ Item as Papyrius Curso2 shulde ones fyght ayenst the Sampytes and that he fynde by hys espyes that the more nombre of folkie were hys enemyes / wherfore his men redoubted to deale with theym/ he tolde soone a certeyn of his folkie that he moost trusted with hym/ and secretly comaunded them to take a grete quantyte of bowes and of rede/ and that they shulde drawe hit after theym from a hye hille where bothe the ostes might see hem / for to styre and moeue therwithall in to the ayer the pouldre & duste of the feldes/ and that they shulde make the gretteste noyse that they might with all / & as soone that this was doon soo and that Papyrius salwe them he bygan to make a scrye with a highe voyce so that hys folkie & elle hys enemyes herde hit/ and semblably made

to be cryed dyuerse tymes/ that hit was his felawe of ar;
mes that he had lefte in to abusshement whyche had dyscom;
fyted a parte of hys enemues/ and that they shuld doo so mu
che that hys felawe hadd not al alone the glorye of the vic
torye/ And herof it happed as he thoughte for therby hys
men were made hardy and bolde and lost all feere/ And the
Samytes that for the greete dust that they sawe flee aboue
the erthe wende that it had be a thinge of trouthe / wherfore
they torned theyre baksides and fledd awaye ¶ Item pom
pee was in a doubte that a certeyne cyte shulde be more fauo
rable to his enemyes/ than to hym self /and that she gaffe
them ayde and socoure by force the stroke / And therfore he
requyred the enhabytantes that they wolde receyue within
hem dyuers sykemen that might not folowe his ooste vnto
hys retourne ayen for to ease and heele hem self / And that
to the golde and syluere and goodes ynoughe they shulde be;
re with theym for to rewarde wel theym that shuld receyue
hem/ And whan this thinge was graunted Pompee ma
de to be putte in dyuers and many litteres of his beste and
mooste hardy knyghtes bounde and bended as thoughe they
had be sore wouñed and sykes/ and in males/ and other farcel
lages he dyde theyre harneys to be caryed with theym as
hyt had be theyre gownes and theyre hauoyre/ For the
whyche thynge whan thees knyghtes sawe theyre tyme fay
rest they ranne vpon the romons and so muche they dyde
that they had the maystry of the cyte and so kepte hit/

¶ Of Alexaunder the greete /of Cesar Augustus/ of Cra
tes of Athenes/

Whan the grete alexandre had ſubdued and ouercome the thirde parte of Aſſie/ by cauſe he doubted les that they ſhuld tourne rebel after his departyng/ he brought awaye with hym all the kynges & princes of the lande as though he wolde worſhippe theym/ & principalli ſuche that hym ſemed were mooſt worth & hevy that they were ſubdued & vaynquyſſhed/ & to the peple that he lefte there/ he conſtytued and ſtablyſſhed certeyne captaynes that he choſe out of hem ſelf/ And by al thus he gate the loue of the princes by meane of the worſhippe that he ſhewed vnto theym/ and elle alſo the loue of the comons by cauſe that he made them to be gouerned by ſuche of the comynaultee as they were hem ſelf/ And thus yf they wolde be rebell they myght not wel ſyn that they had noo captayn/ For a peple that hath lerned to be rewled vndre a hed is nought worth by hym ſelf/ And for to haue them more ſubgett he dide do bylde dyuerſe caſtelles nyghe by theyre tounes/ but for to peaſe them of this doyng he garnyſſhed thees fortreſſes with theyre owne peple/ Item whan Ceſar auguſtus had ſubdued al Germanye & that the Alemayns had yolden hem ſelf to hym he thenne for to here a more lordſhippe ouer theym he bylded many fortreſſes nyghe by theyre tounes/ but for to contente hem of this thinge he boughte the gwonde of them where he ſette the ſayd fortreſſes/ For the whiche dede they held hem ſelf ſo wel content that they had hys lordſhip ryght aggreable/ Item Crates duke of Athenes was lodged in the feldes and he had but a fewe folke but he wayted after a grete ſecours thus he doubted les ỹ his enemies ỹ in agrete nombre were aſſebled ſhuld come vpon hym by cauſe they ſawe hym feble/ but bi cauſe he wolde purueye to thys Inconuenient he made to yſſue by nyght a grete parte of his folke/ & comaunded them

that on the morowe they ſhulde come agayne a longe the hã
gyng of a montayne makynge a grete noyſe ſo that they
myght be herde and ſeen of theyre enemyes that ſhulde towe
that it weere ſom newe ſocours/ And hyt happed euen thus
for the whiche ſymulacyon he abode ſure vnto the tyme that
hys help was come/

¶ Here it is ſhewed of Liſimacus kynge of macedonye/of
Fabyus maximus/of Denys the tyraunt/of Alexaunder
and of Yphytrates/ ¶ Capitulo ix/

LYſymacus the kynge of macedonye had beſeged the ci
te of Epheze whiche had to her ayde an Archepyrate/
that is to ſay a grete thef of the ſee that muche harme dide to
the ſayd kynge & naupe of his ſhippes he tokke ofte fro hym
a grete quantyte of pryſoners/but to this he fonde a remedie
For he dide ſo mocke that he corromped the ſaid rouer by mea
ne of money ſo that he dide fulle hys ſhippes with the ſayd
Lyſymacus fol ke well garnyſſhed with theyre harneys & led
de theym in to the cyte as they had be hys pryſoners /whiche
ſoone after by nyght whan they ſee theyre fayreſt and that
they of the cite tokke non kepe they ranne vpon the ſpices &
ſlewe them/& ſo was the toune taken & delyured vnto Lyſy
macus/ Item fabius maximus that tyme he beſeged capne
he dide waſte al the corne that grue about hit wherebi it ſemed
that his entent was not for to beſege the towne/& thẽne de-
parted ferre from the ſame/& taried his coming thyder ayen
vnto the tyme that they had ſolwed theire landes ageyne
wherto they had employed theyre corne and had but lytyl
kepte/ And thenne retourned ayen Fabyus/ And for fal
te of bred gate ỹ ſtronge cite of capne whiche was famiſſhed

¶ Item Denis the tyraunt after that he had taken many
fortreſſes in cecyle / he came biſore woges whiche he ſinelwe

wel garnisshed of vitaille/for the whiche thyng they kept hem stronge/ So feyned Denys to make a peas with theym & that he wolde goo to another parte/ but in the conenaũt made bitwene hym and theym was compryssed that they shold delyuere hym vytaylles for hys money vnto a certeyne day. And whan he sawe that all theyer vitailles were almost gon & cõsumed alwaye wherof they wought not bicause they twoted to haue had peas & that theyre landes were almost ripe for to be reped vp/he cam on a fressh vpon them that sone were famyssshed & thus tokie hem/ Item whan alexaũder wold take the cite of lencadye whiche he kinelye was stoned with vitaille he tokie first diuerse tollones & castelles / & for the nones suffred the peple that was ynne to entre the said cite of lencadie wherunto they fled full faste/ to thende ỹ theyer vitailles shuld the sooner be consumed & goon/& he tokie good hede that noo vitaille might com to them / & by al thus he tokie hem/ Item Yphitrates whan he kepte tharente he founde a watche man a slepe/& so strake & slewe hym/ and whan men blamed hym for the same/he answerde that he had lefte hym as he had foũde hym that is to say/ that he vrputed a man aslepe / as for dede /

¶ Of amulcar duke of cartage/ of haymo Empereure of affrykie/ of hanybal and of valesius ¶ Capitulo/xv°/

Amulcar duke of cartage kinelye wel that the romains were wont to receyue benigneli theyr enemies whan they tourned them to theire parte & that in grete worshipp they kepte hem/& ỹ specialli the souldeours of gallia/& therfore bicause that he wolde haue them by fuche alwaye/ordeined agre te quantyte of them of his oost that he kinelo mooste true to hym/And made them to goo to the ost of the rommayns as they had be rebell vnto hym and wolde take parte with

the romayns/ So was this subtylite double worthe vnto the said duke/ That is to wite in asmuche as his enemyes were of theym slayne/ and that they durste nat arme neuer syn noone of the his that wolde departe from him/ Item Haymo emperoure of Cartage had a muche grete ost in ce cylle ayenst the romayns/ and sinewe that in his oste emonge other of his folke he had wel foure thousad frenshmen that were accorded emonge them self for to goo tolward the romayns for to take theyre parte / by cause that they were not wel payed of theyre wages/ Haymo durste not punyss he hem for fere of rebellion/ but he dide puruepe thrughe meanes of a wyle to this inconuenyent/ He called vnto him the captaines of the said folke & spake faire to them & a promesse he made hem that within a certeyn daye he sholde make satisfaction vnto them/ but the last day of the terme except one that he shulde kepe his promesse whiche he wolde nor could not accomplysshe/ wherfore he wiste wel that they shulde departe/ he sent tolward the duke of the oste of the romayns one of his knightes that true was to hym as thoughe he had ronne alwaye as rebelle vnto hym / that tolde the said duke that he shuld kepe him self wel/ & that vpon the nyght next comynge foure thousand of hys enemyes were poynted for to entre vpon hys ooste/ wherof the romayn duke for fere lest this shuld happe ordeined ỹ & the mooste partie of his ost for to watche ỹ nyght the whiche full soone ranne vpon the said frenshmen whan they sawe hem come/ & by al thus cam this wel to passe for haymo for ỹ romaīs loste there many of theire folke & was adūeged ryght wel of them of galia ỹ so had goon alwaye from hym for they were al discomfited & slayne Item by suche another manere was aduēged hanibal vpon diuers souldiours ỹ he knowe were goon alwai bi

nyght frō his oste for to goo to ỹ romais for he made to be pu
blished throughe his oste ỹ noone shuld take nor holde them
that so were departed from hys ooste for falce nor vetell & ỹ
they as worthy knyghtis & gode they were so goon alwaye
by his comandement & secret ordynaunce/bicause they shul
de finolve the corupue & coũseyll of his enemyes/ & for to do
a certeyne thinge that he had comytted them vnto And this
dide so hanybal bicause that he voiste wel that the romayns
had som espies in his oste that soone shuld goo telle them
this/and so they dide/ Wherfore the romayns tolie incontyː
nently al thoo that cam from hanybalis oste & made they
re hādes to be smytten of & syn they send hem ayen vnto him
Item the hed captains of the romaine folkie kept the fortreſ
se of thaventr and he sent hys messangers to hasorusbal that
had hym beseged/that he shuld yelde to hym the said fortresse
so that he wold late hym goo sauf & hole/ But wohyle thys
parlyament was kepte by whiche hadrusbal held hym self
as al assewred and euyl watche he sette/ Valeryus that hys
aduantage salve kepte out of the castel and with his pow
er & strengthe ranne wyfely vpon hys enemyes whiche he
dyscomfyted and slewe the sayd hadrusball/ What shold I
saye more of the stratagemes of Frontyn many full fayre
ben conteyned in his bokie whiche shuld be longe to saye/but,
thus muche shal nolw suffise except som fayre notables whi
che I wol shewe that be compryſed in hys boke to this propos
¶ Frontyn in his fourth bokie saith of Cesare dompeius of
Emilius/of Scipion Affrycan/& of Gains Scipio

¶ Capitulo/xj?

Cesar sayde that men ought to vse ayenst hys enemye
of the counsepl that the leches geuen ayenst the sykne
sse/That is to wete of dyete & of honger or euere yon se at

tempted/ Item domicyus carbulo ſaid that men ought firſt to hurte his enemye by al maneres of wylis & ſubtyltees of witte/or eueve that the body be exposed therto/ Item the emperour emulus paulus ſaid that it behoued to a gode capytaine of an oſte for to be olde of condycions ¶ Item ſcipyon affrycan anſuered to one that vitred hym that litel he dyde of his handes in a batayll/ My moder ſaid he childed me as an emperour/& not as a fyghter/that was for to ſaye/that almanere a captayne or pryncē of an oſt ought to ſuffyſe for to ſette & ordeyne well his folke without to putte hys body in Jeopardy of ſtrokis ¶ Item gayus mayimus aunſuered to an Almanye that called hym to fight wyth hym body ayenſt body/ ¶ Yf my liffe were noyouſe vnto me I ſhuld haue foūde the meanes long ſyn for to haue be ſlayne/Item ſcypion ſaid that men ought not onely to make a waye to hys enemye for to flee/ but alſo to ſhewe hit to hym clerely/And me ſemyth that to the propos of thes thynges may well ſerue that that the wyſe charles the fyfeth kinge of Fraunce sayde whan men ſaid vnto hym that agrete ſhame it was that with money he recouered his fortreſſes that ſom of his enemues held and kept from hym wrongfully/ſeeyng that he was of might grete ynoug he for to haue recouered theym by ſtrengthe/ ¶ It ſemith me ſayd he that that whiche may be bought ought not to be bought with mannys blode

¶ In the bokie of Valerpus it is ſaid of hanybal/of a kinge of greee/of another in a ſemblable cas/and of the romains that had nede of ſouldiours ¶ Capitulo/xij/

Valerius ſpekieth to this propos in hys ſeuenth bokie & ſaith that hanybal of whome it is ſpoken biſore/hated mucke the ryght worthy duke Fabius maximus bicauſe he

conſtrayned or gayneſtode hym in batayll & bare hym grete
hurtes & domages/ And bycauſe that Hanybal coude not let
& nor greue hym with ſtrengthe/ he thought to help hymſelf
ageynſt Fabyus with ſubtyletees & wylys / he waſted al
the feldes about rome and all the maneres of other prynces
there/ except them that appertayned to the worthy kynyght fa
bius whiche he ſpared and myſdide them nought / to thende
that he myght doo vnderſtand the rommayns by theſame
that Fabius had ſom alyance or treatee with hym/ & with
this he dide yet more/ For he ſecretly wrot certeyn lettres and
ſent them to rome for to be diretted vnto the ſaid Fabyus
whiche lees contryned & ſpake as thoughe emong they had
be certeyne conuenant that Fabius ſhuld commytte trayſon
ayenſt the romayns/ and dyce ordeyne this thinge ſo that
the Senate of rome had knowlege therof / But they that
knewe the wrathe of Fabyus and the malyce of Hany
bal made no force therof/ ¶ Item a kynge of Grece was
ſomtyme that had enuye of the romayns and for this cauſe
& for noon other occaſion he hated theym ſore muche/ and yf
theyre grete myght and power had not be / he wold gladly
haue hurted them/ And ſo he knewe of noo waye ſo to doo
but by barat & ſymulacyon/ wherfore he feyned that he loued
them well/ & dyuerſe lettres he ſent hem of humble recomen
dacyon concernyng the grete & tendre loue that he hadd to
them/ And he ſent hem worde atte laſte that he deſyred fore
for to ſee the cyte of rome & the noble ordynaūce that was
there/ & whan he was come to rome he was gretly receyued
as he that was for a frend reputed & taken But the more
that he there ſawe the felycyte & the worſhip grettee ỹ more
encreaced the ſorowe the ſecrete enuye that was hidde wy-
thin his ſtomake/ wherof dyde growe ſuche an effet that he

dyde so muche by hys malyce or euere he departed that the barons there he sette to a dyscordaunce and debate so that a grete sedycyon arwse anoone emongys hem / ¶ And thus as he thought in hym self he myght not hurte the cyte by noo bettre manere of waye/ ¶ Item another that in lyke caas hated wome/whan he had made stryffe and debate to be thrawen emonge the wommains that had nede of socours and toke strange souldyours for to helpe hem/But whan tyme came that the bataylles shulde mete togider for to fyght the sayd souldyours departed out of the oste of the wommayns and went vpon the hangynge of a montayne for to beholde whiche of bothe partyes shulde haue the bettre that they might holde with theym whan they shuld percey ue that one partye to be ouercome/But to this dyde purueye full wysely the captayne of the wommayns that sawe hys folke aferde therfore/For he went all along euery wowe where they were venged/sayeng that suche departyng from hys ooste was doon by hys comaundement of to renne vpon the enemyes whan they shulde assemble togider/And thus he assured his folke and hadd the victorye/

¶ Of the cawteles of the wommayns that were beseged in an oste/of Quintus metellus kynge of Sezyle and of Hannibal/ ¶ Capitulo/viij°/

AT that tyme whan wome was taken of the frenshe men and that they had beseged the capitole whiche is a fortresse that can not be taken but yf hit be famyssked wherfore they kept the waves that noo manere of vytaylles shulde be brought thither and so wolde make them wythin to pelde them self or ellis to dey there for honger/But the womayns that somtyme were full subtyl in al dedes of werre for to haue awaye from theyre enemyes the hope that they had

of the famyllyng of hem/they tokie of ſucke ſelue vytayllies as they hadd and lefte therof a grete releff about the tones vohiche vith dyuerſe reuerſyons & ſmall goblettis of bzede they myngled vith the fylthes and ſloeppynges of the hons and caſted altogider out of a voyndoue voherby vohan they of galbia ſalue this they merueplled gretly veenyng that they had be vel garnyſſhed of vytayllies/voherfore they fell in a treatee of peas/Item vohan hanybal and hadzuſball pzyncis of Cartage veere vith a grete oſte in ytalye/the rommayns ſent ayenſt them tvo dukies that ledde grete oſtes vohiche dukies kept & mayntepned them ſo veiſely that the tvo oſtes of the Cartagiens coude not come togider/ For yf they had doen ſoo they ſhulde by theyre grete nom: bre of folkie haue vaſted all the contrey/but the Romayns dide ſo mucke vpon a nyght that bothe theyre vone oſtes veere aſſembled togider by fore the day that they ſhulde giue a batayllie to one of the ſaid oſtes of Cartage vohiche vas ſoone ouercome and dyſcomfyted/¶Item Quintus metel lus beynge in hyſpayne vith an oſte myght not entre by ſtrengthe in to a tovne vohiche he had beſeged/And ther: fore he departed fro the ſpege and tokie hym to purueye hys oſte here and there and a long eſpace of tyme he dyde goo from one place tyl another in ſo mucke that hys vone folkie merueplled therof/and alſo hys enemyes dide mockie hym therfore and tokie hys doyng but a folye/But ſo mucke he vent dooyng al vayes thus/that atte laſte he ſalue hys poynte vohan that his enemyes veere veery and fore pryned vith contynuel vatche/And ſo he tokie theym vnbelvare/ ¶Item a kynge of Secille vas he fought of the Carta: giens/but vohan he ſalue that they had occupyed all hys la: de and that noo remedye he conde putte therto/he departed

with as many of hys folke as he myght haue and went in to Affryckie and in lykie wyse there he dide brenne and dys troye the contrey al about/ And for this cause the Affrycayns of Cartage that so had wasted and occupied his contrey were fayne to make peas with hym and to make hym amende and restitucion of the dommages that they had don to hym/ Item whan hanyball shold ones haue fought ayenst the romayns at the batayll of Cannes that sore dommageable was for theym/ he vsed with thre maneres of caulelle/ the fyrst was that he toke a place for to fyght where as he shuld haue the sonne & the wynde att the backe of hym/ With this he ordeyned that after the bataille were bygonne one parte of his folke shulde make as they fledde alwaye by fore a couert where abusshement was for the nones compted and sette for to renne vpon the romayns that shuld folowe the chasse after them that so fledde/ And thirdly he ordeyned that fourr men of armes shuld in lykie wyse flee towardes the romayns/ as they shulde feere the batayll and shulde yelde them self to them/ Thys ordynaunce thus brought to effecte/ and that the batayll was bygonne / the romayns were sore troubled and lette by the sonne and by the duste that toke the syght and also by the sayd busshement that ouer renned them wher many of theym were slayne/ and thirdly by theyme that had yelde hem self to theym the whiche after the maner that was thenne were dysarmed and putte out behynde the batayll/ But they hadd couertly vndre theyr lytel doublettes rasers wher wyth all they dyde cutte the synewes of the legges of the Rommayns whyle they faught/ And thus as Valeryus saith by the malyce of Affrickie more than by batayll was ouercome the strengthe of the romayns/

¶ Here begynneth to ſpeke of the manere of ſe fyghtyng and ſaluyng of caſtelles and tolones/ And fyrſt of. the manere of bylodyng of theym/

¶ Capitulo/ xviij°

SYn that we haue deuyſed after the lokes of armes and of other more nelo cuſtome /the Wayes that ſe good to ſe kepte in fayttes of batayl that ſe ren: ged and ſette in array/ We ſolowyngly ſhal ſaye after ye gree and as other Auctours techen/ of the maneres and Wayes that ſe profytable and good to ſe kepte aſwell in fayttes of befyghtyngis and ſalwynges of Cytres/ tolo: nes and caſtelles as of the deffenſynge in lyke Wyſe of the ſame/ And alſo enſuyng thys matere we ſhall ſpe: ke of the bataylles that ſe made vpon the ſee or vpon flo: des and other freſſhe Waires/ ¶ So deuyſed and ſhewed fyrſt the ſayd Auctour the manere holo for the mooſt su: retee the auncyent dyde bylde theyre fortreſſes ſo that they Were cloſed rounde a bout Wyth ſtronge Walles and Wyth dyches / And by the forme ſolowyng he techeth hyt thus ſayeng/ Who that Wyl bylde a good and a durable place ought fyrſt to take heede to fyue thynges / Fyrſt he ſhall ſee that the place ſe of a hyghe grounde yf it may ſe /that is to Wite vpon ſom ryght Wel ſette and in a good contrey / But yf the dyſpoſycyon of ſuche a place as he hath ſe not fyttyng /he ſhall aduyſe for to cloſe hys edyffice aboute or atte leſt one ſyde of it Wyth the ſee or Wyth ſomme ryuere that may bere ſhyppes / ¶ And yf it ſo happe that the pla ce ſe ſo conuenable that the ſee may entre of bothe partes/ the ryuere that ſhal renne thrughe the tolones is muche profytable and of grete ſocours yf hit can bere ſhyppes/

¶ The seconde that the ayer be there good and holsome and ferre from plasshes of waters and of mares grounde/ The thirde that the contrey be fruytefull and gyuynge abondantly al maner thynges that be nedefull to the lyffe of man/ The fourth that noo hylle be so nygh that euy shot can greue hit/ And the fyfth is that the cytuacyon of the place be free and not in boundage/ And the same auctour yit sayth that the wise auncyent made not the cyrcuyte of the walles of there cytee or fortresse all ryght vp euyn with a lyne as men doo now/ For they sayd that the walles so made were more redy and better dysposed to receyue the strokes of al maner engyns and to dresse vp ladders therunto/ and therfore they made hem crokked wyse with certein yssues and stepes welle massonned and the stones strongly bounden with lyme and sande/ and compassed them square to thende that they myght make deffense in many places where as many strong toures and deffensable were thikkely sette al rounde about/ And with thys techeth the said auctour how walles may be doubly fortyfyed ayenst all engyns/ that is to wite that two walles of strong stuffe muste be made with an Interualle or space within forthe of tuenty fote brode fro that one walle to that other/ And the erthe that shal be dygged and taken out for to sette the fondementes whiche oughte to be made as depe in to the erthe dieches aboute Shal be had bettwyx both the forsayd walles tyl that the sayd space of tuenty fote be fylled ther with all and shal be trodden and stamped vpon as harde as can be/ And the walle muste be fyrst made vp aboue/ and soo thykkie and so brode that aleyes may be there made with holes and splytes that Archers be sette for to shutte and caste there thrugh al maner of gonne stones and al other shotte/ And a

propre place muste be ordeyned and made atte euery face of the walles for to sette gonnes and other engyns for to shute without/yf nede be to make deffence / And mayntelles and barbakianes of tymbre shal be made fast to the batelmentes of the walles without forth in maner of targettes and pauoyses ayenst the shotte /And the auncyent also made grete hyrdelles and brode to be tyde fast with chaynes and with ropes to the walles without forth that waued & brake the stroknes of the stones that were caste ayenst the walles with dyuers maneres of engyns/ so that they coude not hurt nor appayre the walles/ Or elles they made hour drys or obstacles full thykke of thornes and redy lutted theym with dong and stones ayenst the walles whyche by thys were kept fro brusynge of the grete stones / And sedyng water/brennyng asshes/and al suche other thynges they had prest and redy for theyre deffence / ¶ The yates that were made of stronge tymber they made to be couered in tyme of werre with Lampynes of yron or with rawe leder by cause they shuld not be sette on fyre /and therupon they had a barbackiane/And yet was there a hole made thrugh the walle where was sette a portecolys that hanged with rynges and chaynes of yron/ so that yf the enemyes cam there they shulde be surpryssed and enclosed vnbeware by the said protecollysse that men shuld late goo doune vpon theym / and other holes were also there where thertrugh grete stones and other thynges myght be lacched and caste vpon them / ¶ Item the dyches ought to be made of a grete brede and so depe/yf cas be that noo ryuere be renning there/ that the fortres may not be vndermyned/but yf namely hit were sette vpon a rocke / But the auncyent kept wel theyre fortresses fro me this inconuenyent/ ¶ For with good

ſtone/lyme and cyment they ſonde theyre bylonyng ſo faſt and namely the ſondementes of theyre fortreſſes that they myght not be perſed/Alſo ought the dyches to be ſo depe and ſo large that they be not of lyght fylled by the enemyes/and ſom auncyent made hem in olde tyme paſt to be maſſonned as a walle by ryght atte the without forth ſyde ſo that one myght not deſcende hym ſelf a doune theryn/and yet with thys they ſtrak full thikke al douneward the walle with ſharp hokes and pynnes of yron that men calle caltrappes that letten ryght ſore them that go doune the whiche thinges are comonly knowen as I trowe/and ſemblably dyuerſe other cloſes and garnyſons of deffence/wherfore it is noo grete nede as me ſemeth that I recyte nomore therof ſyn that the mayſtres of ſuche werkes ben therof wel lerned and taught in the tyme preſent/

¶ Here deuyſed of the garnyſons that behouen to caſtelles and townes in tyme of warre/

¶ Capytulo/xv°/

Hytel is worthe the ſtrengthe of the walles of a caſtel hold wel that hit be garnyſſhed of al deffenſable thynges/whan lacke and faulte of vytaille is there/yf hit be beſeged/as it appyered by the ſtronge place of pnemon that cloſed was rounde about with ſeuen panes of ſtrong walles al made of marbell ſtone/and was ſette vpon a roche and fortyfyed with grete toures al about/that were wel garnyſſhed with good men of warre/the whiche fortreſſe was famyſſhed by longe ſettyng of the ſyege that was layde afore/And by cauſe that enemyes comonly att a ſyege force hem ſelf to take awaye the watre fro the fortreſſe

And it is gode to make there redy ayenst the engynes Cy-
ment/beton/oylle/pytche/& foyson of talbe to brenne the said
engynes with all/stele and yron to make and forge al ma-
nere of harnoys for the men of armes/and maystres that
can gode sliyle in makyng of the same/ And foyson of tym
ber to make sperys/demylaunces and other staues with all
And a grete plente of flyntstones or other harde stones
muste be had vpon the batelementes of the walles and tou
res for to make deffence with all/And also ought to be pur
ueyed for ypes and other vesselles full of quyk lyme that
shal be thrawen and shouen a doune vpon the ennemyes
that wol clyme vp to the walle to thende that the mou-
thes and the eyen of them that be mooste hardy may be stop
ped and fylled with all whan the vesselles shall breke in
fallyng on the grounde/ ¶Item behoueth to suche a gar-
nyson a grete quantyte of bordes and herdelles / and foyson
nayles and pynne lothe of yron and of wode for to make
entablementes ayenst te walles withoutforth/ ¶And for
to saye in generall they muste be wel purueyed and garnis
shed of Lyme/of Sande/ of Stone / and of Plastre for to
make cloysons and contrewalles /and of carpenters and
massons for to make hyt yf nede were / ¶Item a grete
stoore muste there be of cordes and strengys for balestres
and long bowes and senewys and other stuffe to make
hem with all/ And yf yt happed that senewys myght not
be recouered/the horses manes and the taples and namely
the heris of women are atte a nede full good to make cros-
bowes cordes and strynges with all / For with thys as
Vegece saith the romayns helped hemself right well whan
Hanybal demeined hem so sore & so longe that al manere of
cordes and senewis were faylled emonge hem/And thenne

the worthy ladyes of rome that had ryght fayre and longe here trayllyng to the grounde and that had at that tyme in theyre heerys theyre mooste curyouse and mooste playsante a ppareyll/hadde leuere to be defyled and nakied from theyre ryght fayre and yelowe tresshes or lokkes for to socoure the yre cyte with all/than to be arayed full fayre with theyre longe and yelowe heerys/and soone to be brought in to captyuyte and thraldome vndre the handes of theyre enemyes and therfore they proffred theyre heerys to the archers and shoters/wherby rome was warauntyzed and kepte/ Item also they ought to be wel garnysshed wyth hornes of bestes for to amende ageyne theyre crossbowes/and in lykewyse of calwe leder for to couere ayen theyre engins and theire other edyffyces to thende that they may not be sette in a fyre and to see a goode garnyson of men able and expert in al poyntes of armes and goode archers wel lerned and taughte in al that bilongeth to assaulte/ and hauyng the wayes of makynge deffense ayenst theyre enemyes/and to be of a nõbre couenable as the place requyreth/ For as a prouerbe saith/The walles makyen not the stronge castelles/but the deffense of good folkie makieth hit imprenable/and it ought not to be forgoten that where as the place is mooste febble there muste be applied more greete a deffence/ For atte that syde are the enemyes wont for to salwte mooste sore/

¶ Of habyllementes of werre/ ¶ Capitulo xvj

After that we haue deuyssed in generall of many thinges that be al ynoughe couenable/aswell for bytayllles/as for deffense that to a garnyson of a fortresse appartenen ayenst the enemyes/ ¶ It seemeth to us expredyent to shewe nowe by Juste estymacyon partyculer what bytayllles shulde be suffycyent to a certeyne felawship of men

after the equypolent of euery greete or small garnyson/ For
two hondred men of armes therme and theyr Archers/
that is to wyte two archers to a man of armes / nedeth for
the space of six monethes/ lx/ tonnes of whete after the me
sure of parys / the thirde parte whewof shal be made and ba-
kien in to byscuytte/and the remenaunte shal be grounden in
to meele/ ¶ Item foure tonnes of stnes and two tonnes
of pesen/six score pypes of wyne / two pypes of Synapeyre/
and a pype of Verius/a pype of oyle/and a tonne of salt/ ℔/
pound of spyces as gyngeer / comyne / and other suche
small spycery/two pound of saffron/two quarters of mos-
tardseede and the querne to grynde hyt with all/ ¶ Item/
salt flesshe and freesshe/ that is to wyte /C/ oxen what salted
What a lyue that may/haue fedyng ynough / an hondred
or six score fletches of bacon/eyght score shepe and a parke
and pastur for to kepe theym that may / and poulleyle as
muche as men wyll/ ¶ Item salt fysshe yf it be in lent or
in suche dayes that men eten noo flesshe a thousande eles
fyue and tuenty barelles of heryng and greete foyson of
ling fysshe and haburden a pype of buttyr salted/ ℔/pound
of almaundes/ y/ or/ yij/pound of ryz and as muche of ote
melle/wose waxe and other thynges that be thoughte gode
for the sykie wyth other couenable medecynes aswell for
theyre etynge as for to enoynte theym wyth all /¶ Item
y/doseyne of cruses to drynk out /y/ bolettys of ledyr for to
drawe water wyth all and two thousand bolettys made
of woode/and two hondred fadom of wopys/ ¶ Item for
the kychyne yf it be in wynter two hounded lode of greete
logges/lx/lode of charcolys thre thousand of small fagot-
tys & six/m/of byllet /yy/ doseine of erthen pottes for potage
& for to sede flesshe in hem/six greete calldrons/ two doseyne

pannes grete myddle and small/fyue or six thousand tre-
en sponys/two thousand treen dysshes and as many of tren
chers goblettys and cuppes grete & smal / yy/or / yyy/ belo-
wis lanternes and other small necessaryes that men may
be aduysed of/and that is said nowe afore / Now cometh
to speke of the prouysyon vpon the fayette of the deffense of
the said place/First atte aldre best/ xij/gonnes castyng sto
nes wherof two of them muste be gretter than euy of tho-
ther for to breke engyns mauntelles and other habyllemen
tes yf it be nede/ Item six bryddes and two cyllars ey
ther of them garnysshed wyth three slynges and of cordes &
stones plente/ Item two or three spryngalles garnysshed
wyth suche shot as bylongeth therunto/ And but yf men
thynke that the gonnes must be caste to often/a thousand
poũd of gonne pouldre shal suffyse/or ellis/v/C/poũd mo
re/and six thousand poũd of leed to make pelettes for gon-
nes/vij/dousayne of speres wyth theyre hedes of gode tem-
pred yron foure & tuenti crossbowes wel garnysshed and byg
ge foure & tuenti balwarers/ foure and tuenti long bowe-
es / and foure and thirty dosayne of strenges for the same
long bowes wyth a houndred sheffes of arrowes / yvnij/
thousand small quarellys for crossbowes and/xij/thousand
of other grete quarelles for bygger shotte/CC/gõne stones
redy made with plente of other stone for to make yf nede be
more gonne stones with all/iiij/C/tampons and tymber
ynough to make hem with/a carpenter for to make them
& suche thinges that shall mistere to be had of his crafte /
foure massons for to make stones for gõnes & al other wer
kie ỹ muste be had of theire crafte/Itm two horse milles two
ouẽs a forge garnisshed with all suche instrumẽtes as nedeth
therto with iiij/m/half a/m/of stele iiij/C/chaldres of see

cordes/xiij/basseins with seat & a tayll for to kendell the fy-
re with/xxx/shouelles of charcoales and/xiij/belloues/ ¶ Je-
for the contrampryng/xxiij/ pyoches /xij/ sewers of pwn/
two dosayne of spades and two dosayne of basshettis/xij/ do
sayne trees shouellys/xiij/gratte tubbes & diuers bukkettes
¶ How a fortresse ought to be stoored and purueyed of
fresshe water ¶ Capitulo/xxxij/
Where it is so as Vegece saith/that a grete profyte & gre
te ease it is to a cite or a fortres whan quyk springes
of fresshe water may be there in conduytes or welles / Ne-
uertheles yf it be so that in som parties the kynde of the gro
unde be not dysposed to nos fresshe water/ a remedy muste
herto be hadd to the best/that is to wite yf the fontaynes &
the springynges be without the walles of the place al most
nygh the cyte or fortresse/it behoueth to theym of withynne
for to kepe & deffende theyre water with gode shotte & by stro
ge hande/yf cas where that the enemyes wolde kepe hit from
them/ And yf the springe be somwhat fere fro the place /
thenne muste ther vpon be bylded & made a lytel toure deffen
sable by whiche shall the water mowe be kepte and deffen-
ded with the strengthe of men of armes and by shot/ And
with this in all suche cites and fortres oughte to be made
diuers cisternes in suche places where men may receiue Ju
ne the rayne waters that fallen doune a long the thackes
of thappentyzes and houses/ and to kepe them euere more
full of suche water and namely of conduytte or ryuere wa-
ter/for the water is wel kepte in suche cisternes by meane of
the gravell & zande & is ful holsome to be vsed/semblaly sayth
Aristotle that salte water of the see or that cometh out of
lytter conduytes and springes becometh gode & swete yf it
be passed & straygned throughe pypes made of waxe/ And

moreouere is a grete quantyte of vynaigre muche profytable to be had and namely in some tyme/ For hit refresheth wel the body to drynke hit with water/which thinge is ryght well knowen in ytalye/And yf the fortresse is set be vpon the see and that salte happe there for to faille/men shall take of the watre of the see and shal be putte in vesselles that shal be of lytel depnes & brode/ which vesselles shal be sette to the sonne or vpon a fyre tyl the watre be consumed awaye/and by this maner of waye shal the salte be fonde in the botome/

¶ How it is of necessite that to a garnyson of a fortresse be putte gode men and true And herto gyueth an ensample

¶ Capitulo / xviij.°/

For al thinges or the moost parte to shewe and deuyse that be nedefull and couenable to the deffense of cytees and fortresses/it is to be knowen that the soue ayne garnyson that longeth therto is of gode & trusty men and that loue the place wel/For where as al thinges were acomplysshed & wel ordred & that this onely thinge shulde be falwed all shulde be nought there/& to take this for a trouthe / and that a grete euyll may come therby/where therinne folowyng this propos/where as ensamples be comonly more penetratyffe in the eeres of the heerers than prouffes that be made by argumentes or reasons/shal bring forth many one for a wittenes of the same And first in rehercyng that whych the other Auctoures testyfyen and sayen/ that is/that the grettest gode that can be/is peas loue and vnyte to be had in a comynalte without diuyssyon/and that an ouer harde thinge it were/that suche peple myght be of what someuere puyssaūce or power dyscomfyted and dystroyed/& thys approueth the answere that the wise magicien tinsealy made vnto

Ceryon Vohan he ayed hym holde it might be that they of
the cyte of Mumpence hadde kepte hem self so longe ayenst
the puyssaunce of the vomayns/he sayd that it Voas by the
vyght grete concordaunce that Voas emonge hem /and Vvith
peas & Vnite is also vyght good to be had in a forteresse or
cyte suche prynces or soueraynes that olde grete fauoure &
a loue to the place/as the noble Camillus Voel shevved that
souerayne Voas of the vomayns oste/Vohan that Brenyus
us of Swaue had dystroyed the cyte of vome by Verre and
Vent alvaye Voyth proyes and grete ryches/But the said
noble men not Vvythstandynge that the vomayns hadde exil
led hym Vvrongfully out of theyre cyte / Vohan he kneVoe
the grete myshappe he Voas full sory/And gadred soone of
folke al that he myght doo for he Voas of a grete auctorite/
and Vvent ayenst Brenyus that nod kepe tolke of hym/and
slevve a grete parte of hys peple and hym self putte to flight
and a grete hanoyre he dyde conquere there of the Vvhiche he
byded vome ageyne and brought in ayen Vvith hym theym
that Verre banysshed/And for this cause he Voas called the
seconde Romulus/And euyn thus as a vyght grete good
Joye and gode happe is or cometh to a cyte Vohan she is in
peas and Vnyte Vvithin her self/vyght so/all euyll / desolacy-
on and parell is there in tyme of dyscorde and of discencion
the Vvhiche thinge is her totall and Veray destructyon / as
namely saith the holy scrypture/For by dyscorde and alter-
cacyon cometh and arryseth comynly a grete dyffevent and
contencyon amonge the comynalte of a tolvne/ that is to
Vvite theughe cause of pryde and of arvogance one ayenst a
nother by enuye and by coueytyse Vvherof may noo good co
me/as it happed in vome of theyre bataylle cyuile that to the
vomayns Voas so gretly preiudycyable that al most they

had vttirly vndoon & dyſtroyed hem ſelf therby for the greete pryde that was in theyre pryncers that is to vnite Scilla & Marynus to whome were come to ayde of ellio parties pom: pee/Certorius and Marius that othre hyghe men were of greete proeſſe and auctorite In whiche werre were ſlayne in dyuers bataylles or euere hyt ceaſſed/as Recounteth the hiſ: torye/xxiij/of theyre pryncers that were hed captaynes/ſix of theyre ſouerayns and/xl/highe barons/& of the womayn peple/C/l/thouſand without other ſtraũgers that were to theyre ayde/So ought wel to be eſchewed ſuche an euyll & acurſed contencyon and debate

¶ Of the ſame/

YEt to this propos of puttyng truſty folkie in to caſtel les & cytees/and that gode kepe ought to be taken that they be not ouer muche couetous/as by thys manere of wa: ye many cytees and townes haue ben betrayed ſolde & rob bed/It appereth by thenſample of the cyte of Sinopen that was greete ſtronge riche and full of peple/whiche Mytryda: tes the kynge had taken to ellio kinyghtes that he reputed good and true to hym/but full euyll they kepte hit/For them ſelf wyth theyre folkie dyſpoylled it/and after that they had ſette hit a fyre they fledd and went awaye/wherof a mer ueyllouſe aduenture happed For thenne as the duke of the ooſt of the womayns dide arrye there for to ſette his ſiege bi fore the towne/he had greete merueylle what that myght be/ And whan the cas was tolde hym he made to calle atte the yates/and whan the yate was open he gyuyng to them of the towne gode aſſeurance/made his owne folkie to putte out the fyre/And thus was werred the ſayd Sonopen by theym that ſhulde haue kepte hit ſauffe/And ſocoured and holpen by them that wolued to haue dyſtroied hit a noone/

¶ Item that couetouse folke may be of grete hynderaunce vnto a cyte or castelles / It appereth by the wordes of Iu: gurta the kynge of Numydye that a grete enuye and co: uerd hate bare to the commayns hydd vndre colourr of fe: ynted loue / but for to deceyue hem better he gaffe grete gyf: tes vnto the pryncypalles of them / and in this wooynge he sedyed sedycyon and dyscorde emonge the cytezeyns / And thus wonred them theyre ennemye that they reputed for a frende wythout that they perceyued it nor were aware the: rof tyl that at hys departyng fro rome where as by fyctyon of grete loue he was come / he coude not kepe hys herte that was swollen wyth enuye / but he muste caste out suche a wor de / Thys stronge cyte were lyghtly to be taken who that hadde ynoughe for to gyue / ¶ Wyth thees thynges is to wyte that many a tyme is happed a grete Inconuenyent in cytees and landes / and namely in any ooste by cause of gre te quantyte of strangers / as hyt happed in Rome in the ty: me of theyre conquestes where they had an vse to take in seruyce wyth them the pryssonners that they tokie for to doo suche occupacyon and besynes as they wolde sette hem for to doo / ¶ Wherof it befell that ones so many they had / that more than tuenty thousand arrose togyder as rebell ayenst the commayns and bare them muche grete dommayge or euere they coude comme at any ende for to destroye hem / But after thees thynges thus sayd whiche may serue for ensam ple we shall retourne to the fyrst propos

¶ Of leyenge of a syege / and of salvtyngys of fortresses

¶ Capytulo / xix.o /

When the tyme is comme that any oste cometh to laye a syege byfore som cyte or fortres / whiche tyme ought

comonly to be yf the hed capytayne be wyse in the season of herueſt or ſoone after/ by cauſe that therme it is to hym pro-fytable for two reaſons/ One is/ that he ſhal fynde more of vytaylles vpon the feldes/ and that other by cauſe that he ſhall greue ably hys enemyes/ that is to wyte by ſyege & aſ-ſaulte and by taklynge awaye fro them theyre corne/ and theyre wyne and theyre other vytaylles whan they ſholde ga-dre theym for to fournyſſhe theyre townne/ And he ſhall ſee that hys oſt be lodged the mooſt nere that he may/ and ſhall wel aduyſe afore the grounde and the ſytuacyon of the place yf he be not by ſome other ſuffyſauntly therof informed/ to thende that the ſyege be layed beſt to his aduauntage for to dreſſe hys engyns vpon a conuenyent grounde/ and to ad-vyſe what parte he ſhal beſt gyue aſſaulte/ And yf it ſemeth hym beſt he ſhal doo make about the ooſte good dyches and ſhall fortefye the grounde aboute with palys as it were a fortres/ to thende they may withſtande to them that might comme for to reyſe the ſyege/ or namely to theym of the caſ-tel yf they yſſued out ayenſt theym/ And yf it be ſoo that of all ſydes the place may be beſeged/ the bettre it is/ but yf there be eny hylle or ſom other thynge that letteth/ Neuerthe-les to al the partyes that be playn ſhal be made trenches or pallys fro one ſyege to that other/ ſo that they of with-ynne may not yſſue out without daunger/ And from al ſydes he ſhall ordeyne ſemblably ſewre deffenſe and good watche atte euery owre/ And ſo ſhal aduyſe by what ma-nyere the place is mooſte prenable/ And yf it be to be ſca-led he ſhal fyrſt late make dowble ladders as many as ſhall nede/ and ſhal make to be had awaye with the ſhot of en-gyns al that that letteth of the walles/ and therme ſhall the ledders be ſette vp that ſhal be armed at the vpper ende with

grete sydes of yron that shall a gryp the batellementes or
fortefynge of the walle/and the neder ende shal be harnes-
ed with sharp sydes of yron which shal be sette depe in to
the erthe to thende they be not ouer thrawen doune by theym
that diffende the towne/ ¶And forthwith of all sydes shal
begynne the assawte/ ¶And yf vndermynyng semyth
hym goode/goode workemen that can skylle shal be sette to
werke for to delue vp the erthe/ and they shal begynne so
ferre that they of withyn shal not by no waye see the
men that bere out the erthe/ ¶And so depe shal the my-
ne be made that hit shal passe vnder the dyches whyche
shal be vndre shored with good tymbre tyl that they com-
me to the fondementes of the walles or lower/ ¶And by
this maniere of waye they shalt fynde the meane to entre
ynne yf gaynsayde be not doon to hyt/ ¶And whyle this
vndermynyng is a doynge the wyse Capytayne ought
not to be styl lest they of withynne fele or vnderstande
by theyre sodyours watche the sayd vndermyners /¶But shall
trouble and beye them with dyuers and contynuall as-
sawtes / so that the noyse the doynge and the brupt shal
stop theyre heerynge/ For strokes of crossbowes thykker
than flyes/ ¶Gombardes /and gonnes with the horyble
sowne of theyre stones caste ayenst the walle / the noyse
of the assawters/ the sownes of Trompettes and the feere
that they haue of them that cleme vp the laders shal gyue
hem ynouge to do/and so they shall not be lytyl occuppyed/
¶Item and yf it hap that the said myners may perce
the walles withoute they be perceyued / they shal soone set-
te on a fyre al the tymbre and shores that they haue sette
vndre the walles whiche shal thenne breke and fall
doune al attones/and thus shal entre the toune the men of

armes/ And yf thys thynge can not helpe by cause of the greate strengthe of the place and of the greate garnyson / the Royse capytayne that desyred to haue hyt shal seke by another maneere of waye for a remedye therunto /

¶ Here begynneth an ordynaunce of leyenge of a syege & sheweth that whyche behoueth therto for to assaute a ryght stronge place after the tyme present/

¶ Capitulo xx/

What that Vegece vpon whos boke of kinyghthode we haue founded the most partye of thys present werke hathe spoken in general termes after the maneere and vsage of the preu auncyent conquerours past ynough suffysaunthy to goode vnderstanders of the thynges of armes/ As well in this that toucheth or may touche faytes or dedes of bataylle and of that that dependeth therof /as of that whyche bylongeth to assaylle Castelles and Townes by see and by lande/ As it shal be sayd hereafter / ¶ Neuertheles for to gyue a more partyculer vnderstandynge / not to theym that knowe hyt / but to theym that in tyme compynge shal nowe rede and here it desyrynge the knowlege therof/ ¶ Where the scrypture in bokes is a thynge perpetual as to the worlde/it semeth me goode to adde in thys oure sayde werke more partyculerly thoo thinges that be goode and proppre to assaylle Cytees Castelles and Townes after the maneere and waye of the tyme present for to gyue therof a more Intellygyble exsample/ And ryght so and semblably that in the thynges sayde and to be sayde we haue holpen vs of the saynges of the boke of Vegece and other Auctoures/ We shal in thys helpe vs of the counseyll of the

[illegible] knyghtes that be expert in the fayde thynges of armes/ And what that therof a grete laude shulde appartayne to theym where as they be wel dygne of honoure and reuerence/ as well for thys cause/ as for other bountez Wyfedomes Worthynesses of knyghthode and noble / Vertues that ley in theym/ It pleaseth not to theyre humblyte to be alledged nor named/ Wherfore they that shall rede or here thys fayre ordynaunce that folowyth shal not therfore despyse hyt/ but shal be content of the same /thynkyng y dommage it were that the feblenes of a lytyl paper that Lotyth in a lytell tyme shulde haue brought to nought the mynde and remembraunce of so notable ordynaunce Whyche is wel worthy to be enregistred to thende that it may be socourable namely in thys royalme yf the cas in tyme to come befell/ Soo shall we suppose thenne a ryght stronge place sette of one parte vpon the see or vpon abygge Ryuere grete stronge and ryght dyffycyle to be taken as suche there be/ to whyche men wyl laye a syege by grete apparylles how long that it lasteth / ¶ And vpon suche apparylles and ordynaunce as longeth therto we shal fyrst spelle of the gonnes and engyns / That is to wete two grete engyns and two other myddelbare flyenge garnysshed and redy of al thynges for to caste / ¶ Item foure Coyllardes all newe garnysshed and abled of alle thynges hauyng eche of them two cables & three slyngis for to chaunge whan nede shal be / ¶ Item foure grete gonnes that one called Garyte / that other rose / that other Benecque / and that other Maye the fyrst castyng aboute fyue hondre pound weyght / The second castynge aboute foure hondre / And the other two aboute two hondre or moo/ ¶ Item another gonne calle Mountfort castyng thre/ ¶

pound weyght / And after the mayſtres the ſame is the leſt of all/ ¶ Item a brayſyn gonne called Artyckie caſtig hondre pound weyght/ ¶ Item/xx / othre ſmall gonnes caſtynge pillettes of ſtone Itē dyuers other ſmall gonnes caſtyng pyllettes of leed and comon ſtones of hondre or/vj ſcore pound weight/ Item two other grete bombardes & ſix leſſer/ Item two other grete gonnes eche of hem caſtyng a bout/iiij/C/pound weyght/and foure ſmall / Thre other gonnes whereof one grete and two leſſer/ Item/xxb / other gonne ſtones caſtynge ſom two ſom thre and ſom foure C/pound weight and/ly/other ſmall/And they all ought to be ſtuffed with fete of ſtrong tymber and of al that that longeth therto/the whiche forſayd gonnes ben in Some/cc ylviij/whiche diſtynctly be named by cauſe they be dyuerſly ſette and ought to be ſo/after the ſytuacyon of the fortres

¶ Here deuyſeth of the gonne pouldre that longeth to the ſayd gonnes and of other ſtuffe ¶ Cappytulo/xxj°/

Firſt:yyy:M:pound of gonne pouldre whereof the half muſte be in ſtuffe: Item thre thouſand ſackes of charcolys made of wilowe tree:two:M:ſackes of charcolys made of okie tree: xxx / baſſenettes eche of hem with thre fete & wyth a longe tayll to kendle the fyre for the ſaid gonnes & yyy/helowoos/ Itē for ỹ ſaid gōnes tocarye fro one place to another to eche of hem a longe cart for to carye the ſayd poul dres & other habyllemētes/yyb ſhort cartes eche of hem wyth thre horſes / & garnyſſhed of that that longeth therto/ Item foure or fyue hondred capons of tree for the ſaid gonnes/

¶ Of the gonnes mantelles/ ¶ Cappytulo /xxij°

Firſt ſix grete mantelles for the ſaid ſix grete gonnes eythre of hem of/viij/fete brode and of/yyy/fete of brygt & And of two fete thykke: Item two grete flatte mantelles

eyther of them of/xxiij/fete of lengthe and of/xxbi/fete of
heyght/& they shal be made al of tymbre of half a fote squaree
& of white borde fyue inches thikke & fyue wheles of elme tree
to enriche of hem with diches atte euery side/Item another
grete mantel with a pointe like to the two other mantelles
& men shall make whan they will haue one alone of thees
thre/Wk & y other small mantelles eyther of them of/yiij/fote
of lengthe & of/iij/or/ij/fete of height whiche shal be of the fa
cion of the fyue grete mantelles aboue said/& eche of them shal
haue a litel wikket open for to shote a gonne whan nede
shal be/& shal the borde largely be thikke foure inches & euer
one shalle vpon thikke sled wheles/Wk two other mātelles
that shalle al vpon wheles in maneer of cariage made lyght
borde of an inche thikke or ther aboute with shal serue to ke
pe fro the shot whilis the other shalle asettinge/& two other
mātelles with pointes eithre of hem sette vpon/iiij/sled whe
les/Wk more euere viij grete mantelles for the said grete en
gyns & coillardes whiche shalle made of timbre half a fote
square euery mātell conteinig/xxxbi/fete of lengthe & xbiij
fote of height/Item two grete Instrumentes with armes
for to lifte and dresse vp the forsaid engins

¶ Of the habillementes for to conueie & arrine the thyn:
ges that ben nedefull to an assalte ¶ Capitulo/xxiij

We haue al redy supposed biforne that ỳ fortres to ỳ whi
che this ordynaūce sholde be made for to lay siege to it/
shulde be sette of one parte vpon the see or vpon abiegge riue
re/& therfore we may yet suppose that ỳ said habillemēt of
wode shulde be made in som forest moost neyt/& that in ship
pes & other vesselles the waare might be conueied & arrined
in to the felde where the ost is or in som other place nygh by
Soo shal we say of the other enggens conenable to dralte

ont of the shippes the tilter the stones ꝑ pipes & other thinges
first an engine for to drawe the stones out of the shippes &
to charge them vpon cartes for to carue them there as the gō
nes be & there as nede shulde be/Itē litel cartes called marty
mettes for to carye the mantelles & the tymber that serueth
for ꝑ engins from the shippes vnto the place where as thei
shal be dressed/Itē two grete long cartes with ferrementes
for to carie ꝑ wodes of the engins fro ꝑ shippes to the plac
¶Deuised of other habillementes that behoueth ¶/xxiiij
In the said forest moost next as it is said shal be ordey
ned to be made/B/C/&/xl/palebordes called pynelles ei
thre of them of/xviij/fete of lengthe & of/xij/fete of brede/& a
mouten there/B/c/&/xl/pynelles to a/m/iiij/c/fadom & to eue
ry pynell bilongeth two trestelles wherof the one ende muste
be mortesed within the pynell or palleborde/& at the other en
de bey two fete/& they muste be garnissed with hirdellis for
to make the aleres & weies to go ouere/Itē/B/c/lxj pynel
les for litel pales of/x/fete of hight & of/iij/in brede/whiche
B/C/lxi/ pynelles maketh/xj/C/fadom/And by thaduys of
them that best can shyple thees forsayd palebordes shal be set
te and dressed to what parte that they will for to make bas
tylles and bolwerkes after the counseill of the maistres
of the werkes/And to the sayd bastylles muste be made
foure yates/and vpon euery yate dyuerse deffences and for
tyfycacyons made after the maner & toures and other
batellementes deffensable wounde aboute for to wyth stande
aswel the gonne shot/as the shot of crossbowes and other
shot/Item with this shal yet be made fyue/C/trestelles of x
fote of lengthe and eyghte of hyghte whiche shal serue
to make aleyes vndre couert for the sayd mantelles and for
the bewfray that men shal make yf nede be/Itē/xj/M hir

ladder for to couer the said berfredde and mantelles/and to
make loupholes both all yt it be nede or other thynges
that shal be necessary/ Item of pieces of wode to ioine the sa
to pulpes both eight tonne full or ther aboute/ Item more
ouer both thees thinges shal be made a grete baerne both
in the said forest that shall haue/ xxtie fadoms of lengthe &
eight of bredthe for to putte in the mylles & other necessaries
for to serue them of the oft & that shal be ordeined for the sa:
po bastilk/

¶ Capitulo/ xxb°/

First/CC/crossbowes/ xxx/ other crossbowes with a
tourne or polye/ & /C/other with a hoke/ Jtē/CC/M
quarelles /l/thousand other quarelles called dondag
nes or grete shot/ xñ/ tournes al nede for to bende crossbowes
with all/ Jtē/ccc/ hādbowes either of them garnished with
ther strynges/l/ other tylloles for to bende crossbowes & /l/ ba
kwerts/ Jtē/ cccc:l:of theide made of senewes for to make
strynges for bowes. Jtē yet beside this for a stondre:bñ;C
strynges for the said bowes: Item: xñ: M: arwes

¶ Other habyllementes of werre ¶ Capytulo/ xxbi°/

First:xñ:c:panyses:cc:fyre pauoys & : xxx:other fyre
pānes of xbij fote of height stongly yroned with gre:
te bendes of yron for to be pight in to the erthe: Jtē xbñ C
tourtaules or pitched wpes for to brēne within the sayd fyre
pānes: Jtē iiij.C axes of werre facioned assbel after fash
sion dyuerse as other: Jtē for the nine foute:C picoses a M
shoucles of wode iiij:c:scollopes for to voide watre with all
xñ grete bolles of yron with two bokels to either of them
Jtē m & c baliparnes al garnished CC lāternes Jtē m of
grete yron pines of a fote & a half of lengthe & xñ c of other
lesser pines of yron Jtē viij barrelles full of nayles whereof ÿ
nayles of one shalbe of half a fote lēgthe ÿ other of iiij inches

that other of thre Inches and that other of two Inches / Two wopers/two holdwerkers / two whele wrygghtes/ two tourners for to make tampōs/two or/iij/thousand of ywn two long cartes laden with Elme wode for to make the sa yd tampons with/xl/londelles of style/ly/chaldernes of see colys two hondred sakkes of charcolys/two thousand po und of wop threde for the wopys of the engyns / ¶ Item for the wourkers/xl/colles skynnes talwed and dressed for to ma ke the slynges of the engyns/xxb/skynnes of white leder for to make girdels to the said slynges/ ¶ Item for the whe le wrygghtes shal be taken wode asmucke as they shall myst tere oute of the forsayd long cartes/ ¶ Item for to kepe the wopis the threde/ the leder the ywn pynnes and other thyn: ges necessary to the engyns shal be made redy / xij/ tonnes with lockis and keyes to either of them/

¶ Here folowe the gonne stones ¶ Capitulo/xxbiij°/

First/C/and A/stones redy dressed for the gonne called mountfort / Item six score stones rounded and redy dressed for the grete gonne/Item/iij/C/other stones for the small gonnes/ Item/bi/C/ other stones for the said gon: nes that shal not be made rounde/ Item for the engyns/iiij/ C/stones al redy dressed for to cast/and fyue or six/ C/that shal be but squarred/And all a mounten to the some of two thousand/ij/C/stones or ther aboute / Item six thousand of lede for to make pelletes

¶ The smalle habillementes for to salute by wape of vn: dremynyng ¶ Capytulo/xxbiij/

First a/C/fote and fyfty leuers of ywn/yb: Joukes for bryggges to make with all foure & tuenty grete strong ladders of double steppes for to susteyne foure men of ar: mes vpon all of a frontes of /xxxbj/ or :xl: fote of lengthe

And to euery of theese ladders moost be ordeyned three poule-
yes atte the vpper ende ¶ Item/vj/or/vij/other ladders of
xxiiij/or/xxvj/fete of heyghte and other smaller

¶ The squaire tymbre to make that that followe/

¶ Capitulo/xxix°/

For to make a Werrely holde that men calle a barbed
catte/ and a fellofray that shal haue/ix/fadome of leng
the and two fadome of brede/ and the said catte six fadome of
lengthe and two of brede/shal be ordeyned all squaire Wode
for thesame /aboute foure hondred fadom a thousand of bor-
de/xxiiij/olles and a grete quantyte of smalle Wode / The
naylles that seruen to the same as here aboue is Woryton Itē
six masters euericke of thre score or foure score fete of lengthe
that shal serue to the sayd fellofray and catte after the wa-
ye that oughte to be ordeyned / ¶ Item foure hors mylles
Wherecke shal haue but two Wheles and euery wheele shal wo
urne two mylles/and they shal be sette Wythyn the barne
aboue sayd/ ¶ Item foure barrelles of talowe for to enoyn
te the engyns/ cables/ mantelles/mylles/ and that that shal
nede/ Item three dosaynes of poleys of Wode/and/xij / other
poleys of copres

¶ The Werkmen necessary for the sayd habyllementes/

¶ Capytulo/xxx°/

First for the engyns to euery engyne foure persones
one emonge other beside the mayster/and the masons
that muste be had there/that his to Waite two/ ¶ Item six
hondred carpenters that shal be ordeyned for to lyfte and ar

reyse vp the bastylle / the mantelles / bedwraps and cattes and other habyllementes / whiche carpenters shal be ordeined ten and ten / and constables and vyntyners shal there be vpon hem that by ordre shall departe them to the kinyghtes for to dresse vp the palysses there as they myster to be sette by the manere declared herafter / ¶ Item six /C/ other men that shal gyue ayde to the sayd carpenters whiche shal be semblably sette by ordre of nombre ¶ Item two thousand labourers for to make trenchez and the dyches about the palysses and other necessary thynges the whiche shal be sette & ordred as aboue is said / ¶ Item shal be ordeyned a hondred kinyghtes and esquyers suche as men will chuse therto whereof eythre of theym shal be charged and comaunded for to make fyue penellys of palysses to be sette vp and to make dyches wunde aboute / And euerych of hem shal haue vndre hym a dyzener of carpenters and a dyzener of helpers and also thre diseners of laborers for to make the same / And six cartes with the cartes for to carye the said palysses fro the shippes where as they shal be vnladen out as it is said vnto the place / And eyther of the forsayd kinyghtes and Esquyers shall haue by wrytyng the names of theyre dyseners whiche in lyke wise shal gyue by wrytyng the names of all theyre felawes / And shal euery dyseuer haue for his felawe shyp onely a cresset or fyre panne sette vp euery nyght garnysshed with / L / tourtellis to brenne and holde lyght with all / And there shal be certeyn folke comytted of whom they shal haue the names for to delyuere hem shouels pycoys and spades / ¶ Item for the gonners shal be appoynted / L / Carpenters and tuenty laborers for to sette theyre mantelles / for to moeue and sette theyre gonnes / and for to make trenchez & dyches of whiche carpenters

and labourers they shal haue the names and vesselers shal be there commytted for to vesselle them/And they shal haue the yre owne cartes by them self for to carye theyre gonnes & theyre habillementes fro the shippes vnto the place/ Item they that shal haue the vesselle ouer the coyllardes shal haue with theym/ yy/labourers for to pight thees engyns and thyre mantelles in to the erthe and for to make trenches and dyches a boute/and they shal in lyke wise haue theyre cartes & folke by theym self/And by semblably maneve shal be ordeyned hym that shall haue the charge and the vesselle of the gyre engyns/whiche shal haue onely for hym self / yvj / long cartes/ ¶ Item to theym that shal be admytted and ordeyned for to vesselle/kepe and dystrybue the gonne poulvre /artyllerye and other habyllementes shalbe deliured for to carre them/viij/long cartes And the other nombre of cartes shal folowe for to bryng & arrvue the vitailles fro the schippes vnto the ooste/and other necessary thinges/ ¶ Item to hym that shal haue the charge of the mantelles shal be deliured yvj/cartes for to carye the said mantelles and the tymber that nedeth therto from the said shippes vnto the place/and .l. workmen after the ordynaunce a forsaid

¶ Here deuyseth of the vytaylles and habyllementes and of kepers of passages/ ¶ Capitulo /xxxj

Wyth thees thiges shal there be ordeined certeine knyghtes or esquyers notable folke alswell for to kepe the portes and the passages /as for to conueye the said thinges to one of whiche shalbe comanded for to kepe the passage of the ryvere with a hondred archers and /CC/pylnaves/and shalbe delyured vnto hym/C/paueyses/y / gonnes and the poulvre that belongeth therto/ ¶ Item another knyght or squyer shalbe charged for to lede & conueye sixe score vesselles

or ther aboute laden with Vytayllles and of artyllerye / gon:
nes paueyſes and other habillementes/and ſhal haue with
hym two honored men of armes a honored baleſters and/ce
carpenters all archers yf yt may be/ Item another kinyght
or eſquyer ſage and experte ſhal conueye the grete ſhyppes
wherynne ben the grete gonnes/the coyllardes and engyns
Vytayllles and all habyllementes/and ſhal haue with hym
a honored men of armes & a honore men of ſhotte/ Item
for to conueye the Vytayllles that ſhal come by lande and
other nedefull habyllementes ſhall there be ordeyned ano:
ther notable kinyght or ſquyer that ſhal kepe the marchaun
tes Vytaylleres that they be not robbed nor eſpoylled and ſhal
haue with hym two honored men of armes/a C/croſſbowes
and a honored archers/And of another parte vpon lande
ſhal there be another that ſhal conueye ſemblably the forſayd
neceſſary thynges that he ſhall haue with hym men of ar:
mes and of ſhotte after that it ſhal ſeme gode to be won/

Deuyſeth of other habyllementes Capitulo/xxxij/

Other kinyghtes and eſquyers/vj/or/viij/ wiſe and ex
pert in armes ſhal be choſen and ſtablyſſhed for to chu
ſe and aduyſe the place where the ſyege ſhal be leyde and the
baſtille ſette vp/and alſo of engyns/gonnes and other ha.
byllementes / Item there ſhal be ordeyned mareſſhalles for
to departe and deale the lodgyſes to the beſt that may be doo
and to ſee that the vytaillers and marchauntes may be lod
ged at large and wel & alſo folkie of crafte to thende the oſt
may be the better ſerued/ Item there ſhal be a crye made in
al the townes there about that men bryngе vytayllе from
all partyes in to the oſte and the gode men ſhal be wel
payed and kepte from alle dommage/ Item another
crye ſhal in lykie wyſe be made vpon peyne of dethe

that none myssee nor hurte by noo maniere of voyse in noo thyng the sayd Victayllers / crafty men and marchaundes and noo thynge be take fro them vythout money/ And al: so that noone be so hardy to sette hys ware at a higher pry: ce than reason and tyme requyreth nor to selle them for to be borne out of the oste

¶ Deuysed the maniere for to lette and kepe the hauen fro the enemyes ¶ Capitulo/xxxiiij/

By cause we haue said here by fore that for to assaylle a fortresse grete and stronge of vohyche the one syde is vpon the see or vpon a grete ryuere/were expedyent the for: said apparaylle to be hadde/ It byhoueth also to aduyse holde thayde and socours that by the see myght come to the sayd fortres myght be letted/ It is to be knowen thenne / that there muste be hadde/y/or/xij/grete olde vesselles of the see that shal be charged vith stones asmuche as they can bere vohiche vesselles thus laden shal be brought in to the haue: ne of the said fortres or towne and there they shal be drowe: ned so that they shal comprise and fylle all the said hauene that noone other maniere of shippe shalle mowe come therin ne for to approche the said fortres nother by floode nor by hygh spryngе of vatre / ¶ And for suche vesselles to conveye by cause noo letteynge coude be putte therto there shal be a gode captayne ordeyned that shal haue vith hym fou: re thousand men of armes and fyue hondred men of shot or moo/vohiche shal be in other shippes and shall drawe after hem the sayd shyppes so laden vith stones And yf eny gytee vharffe or eny bryggge were there or eny other grete ryuere vherby the dyches were fylled/ this feladdship myght breke hyt ther vhales and gyue an yssue to the vatre for to haue hyr cours to another parte/ And vpon the sayd shyppes so

dvdoned as it is ſaid may be made two baſtilles that ſhal
de be made in maneve as bollwerkes/that is to bvite an eoy
fyce made bvith grete tymbre as highe as men bvil / bvhiche
may ſoone be doon that hath help ynoughe and thys baſtylle
muſte be aduironned bvith hirdels aboute and dalbed thyk
ke bvith erthe and clay therupon / and it may be ſette vpon
bvheles/ And this eoyfyce feereth nother fyre nor ſtroke of
gonne by cauſe the pilletres and ſtones that are ſhot ſolon
drey depe in to the erthe that ſofte is/ nor fyre may not take
therto/ And the baſtille of bvhiche is ſpoken bifore made
bvith palyſſes ought to begynne atte this baſtille made of
erthe/ And thus to goo vounde aboute the foztres or tolone
bvho that may from that one baſtylle made bvith paliſſes to
that other baſtylle made of erthe/ And al thus by takyng
a bvaye of the ryuere and to doo after this maneve yf the pla
ce be ſo dyſpoſed the dyches ſhal be made dreye/ And bvyth
thys men ſhall molde make a gyrre aboute the toune in ma
neve as bollwerkes as it is ſaid / by cauſe noo gonne nor
neo maneve of ſhotte ſhall hurte the oſt / And by al thus
men ſhal molde myne the caſtel or tolone ſyn the bvatre is
taken from hym/and bvhen the catte and the belbfrais ſhal
be lefte vp and dreſſed/and that the gonnes ſhal haue bro
ken the bvalles/then ſhal men ſurely aſſayle

¶ Deuyſed the engyns that be conenable to the fayttres of aſſalbotes/ ¶ Capitulo /xxxb/

And it is to be knolden that for to ſalbote all ſtronge
places there ben fyue pryncypall engyns as Begece
ſayth by the bvhiche men may take hem/ that one is that ſa
me of bvhiche by force of a pouldre made of charcolys Salt
petre/ brymſtone and ſuche mixtions that behouen therto are
caſte by grete ſtrengthe ſo grete ſtones that they bruſe and

ſhoten & downe all walles/houſes/towres/and all that they encounter and of them be ſome of meruayllouſe force that one more than that other/ Item men maken another engyne whiche after is called as vegece ſaith moſſelle or motelle/ & is made as a flatte hous and large/and couered with hor-
donge bicauſe that noo ſtones nor noo fyre may hurt nor gryeue hit/and it is made vpon wheles and may be caryed where men will/within this engyn are ſolke hidde that dra-
we after them braunches of trees and all thynges that be good to fylle dyches with all/& by the ſame waye men may vſe therof in ſuche a cas that will wherby alwaye ſhal be gy-
uen to other engyns to be brought vnto the walles/Item the thirde engyne is called Mowton/and is made of tymbre in maner of a houſe couered aboue/vpon whiche couerynge and all rounde aboute are nayled wolle hydes and all wete and freſſhe by cauſe fyre ſhal not moue take therto/In the forefronte of thys houſe is a grete maſte that hath the en-
de couered with yron grete and maſſy/Men drawe this ma-
ſte with chaynes/and it is made by ſuche maner that men may ſhoue it forthe and withdrawe hyt ayen ſo that they/ that be within the engyns may ſmyte grete ſtrokes with this maſte ayenſt the walles and ſo ſhaken that they be all aſtonyed with all/whiche engyne caſteth hys ſtrokes euen ſoo as a rame doeth whan he reculeth a bak for to hur-
te with hys hornes/and therfore is thys engyne called a Mouton/ ¶ Item the fourthe is called vygne of whyche men vſe but ſelden but yf it be to a grete effort/ It is made of grete tymber/and it hath /viij/ fote of brede and /xvj/ of lengthe/and is couerd with hyrdell is & hor-
donge/to thende that ſtones may not hurte hym/and enuyromed al aboute with hydes wolle for the fyre/Vnder the ſame engyne ben

the men of armes that preen the walle and vpon poynt set yeiz that he made faste therto whiche are called flyghyng bryggys and may reche vnto the walles/they sette and dres se vp theyre ladders to dyuers stallages/ ¶ Item the /sy/ engyn is yet of more grete strengthe and lasse en vsage by cause that it byhoueth not but to the saluetes of grete and notables cytees or fortres and stronge places fore defyed where as a syege he kepte by longe leyser / Thys engyn is called Tolure It is an edyfyce made of grete tymber and of tablementes with many loftes and stallages / And therfore faithe Vegece that so grete an edyfyce ought to be well kepte/ It behoueth hym to be couered that may with lampnes of peen left fyre sholde he caste or sette therin / or at the lefte with hydes wolh all forsse/ To the whiche engynes men gyuen lyghte after as they be hyghe or lowe For som be of/xxx/fote/som of/L/And namely som there ben so hyghe that not onely they surmonten the walles/ but also the hyghest towres / Thys engyn is sette vpon moeuable wheles that by force of men and of hors es are lede as nyghe the walles as men can/And flieghyenge bryggys there be that as they be let doune men may therupon reche ouere the walles/And yf it hap that thys Tolure may be approched nyghe the walles / ouere harde a thynge it were / but that the tolure shal be taken soone at an other / For therynne ben grete foyson of men of armes in al the loftes and stallages / of whiche they of aboue with gode shote and hande to hande fyghten with them that ben vpon the walles and of lyghte may ouercome hem / They of the lowe loftes or stallages preen the walle/ And thus is the cytee or fortresse ennayssshed of suche effort that they of withynne wote not what parte to defende nor offende/ so ben they abaysshed and

highely taken/ And it is that vehiche Vegece wrote vehan he
sayth/ the more partes and by more engyns and more stren
gthe that thou shall assaylle the fortres all atones/ the mo
we are abasshed they that make defference and the sooner they
shall yelde hem vp/ And by cause that for to doo thys/ ser:
ven the ladders and made proffyten herto/ and in lykie wise
all engyns that can be made for to clymme hyghe/ It is nede
for to make bettre thys manere of clymmers/ that men sholde
fynde the heyght of the walles/ And therfore for to sholde
thys Vegece techeth it by two Vayes/ and sayth that an a:
wolde shal be thrallen into the heighte of the walle/ to the
vehiche awolde shall a long threde be made faste that shal be
holde vndreneth/ and by this shal molde be sholden the
heyght of the walles ¶ Item that other vaye vs vehan
the sonne is so vnwis that he casted the shadolde of the
walles and of the tolwres to the grounde/ therne men may
mesure the space of the walles vyth two staues y pyght
atte eyther ende of the shadolde/ And by thauntyse of a gode
& vyse conseyuere may be estud ied vehat heyght the ladders
and other engyns moste haue

¶ Vegeruneth to lyue of deffens/ vyse of castelles and by:
tayllez/ ¶ Capytule/ xxvij.

IT is certeyn that lyghtly ynough myght al maneve
of a strenge place be ouercome and taken/ vithout fol
he vere there that shuld deffende hit and therfore euyn soo
as Vegece hath putte in his boke for the doctrine & techynge
of warres/ the nevthem for to assaylle cities & tolwnes/ and
sowe lykevise for to deffende and kepe hem/ here he saith that ay:
enst the engyne vs abone named and other dyuerse paylles

whereof myght be vsed in fayte of assawte/ yf thee be worthy
deffensours that haue in them ꝑ vertue of knyghthode/ many
a temeryte may be hadde/ For there is noo hyltnes / but that
som socours is ygyuen therunto/ And in armes is subtylyte
myghel more worthe than is strengthe / as it happeth ofte/
namely in takynge of castelles and cytees / As it befell in
som tyme of the commaynys that by a subtyl polycye ꝫ wyt
te/ tokke the cyte of capsa that longed vnto Typgram the kin
ge of Armenye that werred theym / For as the ambaya-
tours of the sayd cyte went and came for to treatte of pe-
as/ the commaynys malycyously made on a myght abussh-
ment of them self within the gardyns that myght were to the
walle/ and whan the said ambaxatours were wolued to haue en
tred ayen within the yates of the cyte / the commaynys lepte
vpon the brygge so hastily that they tokke the yate/ And so
long kepte hyt tyl the ooste entred al ynne/ And thus by
crafte and subtyl wytte was the cyte taken that was so
stronge and so wel garnysshed that by noo fawtynge hyt
myght not be taken/ And moreuere sayth Vegece that they
that kepe and deffende a place haue more avauntage than
they that doo assayllle hyt for dyuers reasons and namely in
lefyghtynge/ For that whicche men caste from hyghe be it sto-
nes stones dartes or other shot / the more hyghe that it com-
meth fro/ the moche more hyt hurteth/ To the whicche thyn
ges yf grete vertue and myght be putte therto / noo manere
of wacantyse can not kepe them that so assaylle yf they
be hytte with all / but that they shal be beten doune as the
thonder falle vpon hem First of all they of within may be so
coured by theyre lorde yf he be not there hym self/ that wyth a
power of men shal nolde come to reyse the syege and to gy-
ue hem socours/ or by som other of theyre frendes whome they

ſhall abyde ſent worde and prayde for helpe & ſocourse/as it be
fell whan the deuiſe Lentulus hed captayne of the oſt roma
yn went ayenſt the kynge Mytrydates / that ſent worde to
his folkis that were within the cyte of Myrrne that ſo ſtron
ge was that the ſee ſmote there at the one ſyde of her & was
adiowned with double walles/that they ſhulde not abaſhe
hem ſelf for the grete puyſſaūce of the kynge Mytridates &
that ſoone ſocours they ſhuld haue/And a grete thynge it
was to the meſſaūger for to paſſe thrughe ſo many folkis &
goo there/but it was by nyght and ſwymyng/where he dide
putte two grete botrylles vnder his oxiſelles & ſwymed/viij
thouſand paſſes in the ſee/and by thys manere of waye he
cam and entred in to the cyte/And ſoone after was Mytry
dates contreſieged where his oоſt was wrought to a grete
miſchiefe for deffaute of vitailles that from noo part myght
not come there / whiche thyng is facyble to be doo ayenſt
them that holde a ſiege/ ¶ Item they hem ſelf or part of hem
yf they fele hem ſelf ſtrong ynoughe / may yſſue out with
nyght fayre ordynaūce that alwe whan the enemyes be
not aware of yf they ſee theyre poynt /and likwyſe to ſaluo
te them as they be ſaluted/ For by ſuche alwaye hath ben an
oſt kepyng a ſiege oftymes ouercome and diſcomfited and
it is neceſſary to al folkis that goo to bataylle for the deffen
ſe of theyre contrey or cyte that they haue grete hope in god
to haue the victorye for the gode nyght that they haue / or
other wyſe they ſhulde not mowe fyght hardely/ And that
they ſhuld haue thys hope/it hath be ſeen oftymes by the ef
fecte that therof happed to ſuche fyghters/ thus namely as
it ſemed that it happed to them of the cyte of rome whan
anes emonge other tymes/ Hanybal with a nyght grete oſt
cam by for the cyte for to haue hyt diſtroyed /but where as

the wommayns yssued ayenst hym by greate boldnes thoughe they were lesse by the thyrde part/than theyre ennemyes/ oure lorde that wolde not that the tolone wohere as in tyme to come he wolde edyfye hys chyrche/shulde be dystroyed/sent suche a greate showre of rayne that owre that they sholde assemble togyder/that theyre harneys was so sore charged with watre that they cowde not helpe hem self/& forced they were to withdrawe them self/ And after that thre tymes this had happed thus to them as it were a veray myracle/ Hanyball said/that he wolde not enterpryse noo werre ayenst the goddes/for well he sawe that they were fauourable vnto wome/Item sowe be it that pactes and conuenaunces that ben and may be often tymes doon ben some tyme namely more vayllable to honour and proffyt to them of within/ than to them of without Natheles whan they be thus assailled as it is said it behoueth hem to deffende them self therynne by vertue and strengthe of theyre bodyes without other remedye/& a gode corage mysereth them moche whyche may be seen by ensample of them of the cyte of Cartage whyche ouercome they wolde delyuere vp theyre cyte to the womayns that wolde haue destroyed hyt/ they loued better to dye/And kept the womayns styll with fayre wordes tyl that they had forged theyre harneys wherof they had deffaulte of gold of syluere/of Coper and other metalles by cause that bothe yron and stele were faylled them/and with the same armelures they deffended and kepte theyre cyte vnto theyre dethe/ ¶ So it behoueth to suche folkie to helpe hemself wyth engyns/fyre/yron/& stones/strongly by greate myght and vigoure/that is to wyte wyth gode shot of cros bowes/ and greate stones that shal be casten by the myght of the engyns/and they muste haue apparelled redy pitche/oyle/

laynstone and tolbe to make boith all grete ſtopſelles that ſhal be ſhoten thrughe to the engynes of theyre enemyes ſo long tyl that they be ſette a fyre And men may make ſta ues of dere boos all holoboe boithinne and full of fyre/ of cyment of oyle and of tolbe and ſhute them to the ſayd en gyns/And ſemblably men may dyſtroye hem boith an en gyn caſtyng a ſlynge of yron boith ryngres/ and beſyde this engyn muſte be made a forge in whyche ſhal be a grete baxe of yron fyre globoyng hoot whyche ſhal be caſt to the engyn without in what place that hit be/ and ayenſt this burnyn ge yron may haue no defence wlb leder nor alſo lampynes of yron/ Item of the ſame

Item men may bete doune fro the boalles certayn perſones in grete maundes by nyght that ſhall bere fy re boith hem and in dyuers places they ſhall ſette the ſayd engyns on fyre/ Item it hath be ſeen oftymes that they of boithyn haue yſſued out ſodaynly and haue dyſtroyed bo the by fyre and yron the engyns of theyre enemyes/ Wyth this be ſaith nowtwere that they of boithin oughte to aduyſe that of that part of the boalle bohere the ſayd grete engyn called Tolbre is ſette/ yf ſuche be there/ the ſayd boalle be made hygher ſo that it may ouer retche alboayes in heyght the ſaide engyn/ For certeyne it is as he ſaith/ that yf the boalle be more hyghe/ than is the ſayd engyn of lytyl balue but the beſegeres haue comōly one maneer of a polycye that fyrſt they doo bylde the ſaid Tolbre in ſuche boiſe that it ſe meth lolber than the boalles/ but after board they make ano ther ſmalle toure boyth bordes and table mentes boherin is al boaxes couched doune bnto tyme that they boyl come this grete engyn to the boalles/ and thenne ſodaynly they dreſſe

hit vp with cordes and vyth grete hokes And by thys wa
ye the men of armes assayle sodaynly al attones the wal-
le/ and vythout grete deffense le made therme of them of
vythinne they shall entre & take the towne by force/ But
ayenst this polycye muste be purueyed certeyne grete mas-
tes armed aboue vyth sharp ferrementes and vith the sa-
me they shoue the said engyn abacke fro the walle/ Item le
sayth that som tyme vhan the cite of the wodes was beseged
vyth suche maniere of a Tovre moeuable of a merueillable
heighte and muche more highere than the walles were/ they
of vithyn seeyng the same grete edyfice comyng ayenst hem
aduysed them self the nyght afore of a grete cauteele/ they
perced the grounde vndre the foundementes of the walles/ &
there as they thoughte that the sayd grete engyn called tou
re sholde le brought/ they dalff the erthe and made a grete pit
te as a caue vndre the grounde there/ throughe vhiche poly-
cie vhan the day was come that ỳ said toure was brought
thereupon hys vheles and was of merueyllouse poys and
heuy/ hyt foundred and sanke doune in to the grounde that
holowe was vndrenethe so that hit myght not le had vp
ayen/ And by thys waye was the cyte warauntyssed/ And
it is to le knowen that som tyme euery moeuable Joynctu
re of suche engyns had a name appropryed/ as it shal le
exposed hereafter/ And so vhan the sayd Tovres were
Joyned to the walles/ the archers the slynge casters and
al men of shot/ and in lyke vyse the men of armes euerych
of hem in theyre vowme forced themself to take ỳ walles vp-
pon & slo them of vithinne vhiche after theyre power cha
lenged & kepte them from ỳ entrees/ So were the walles
pourpryssed/ ¶ And sette vpon a boute vyth ladders
¶ Where as they of vythout putte hem self

In grete Jeopardye of theyre lyues for to clẽme vp to the walles the whiche maner of clẽmige vp with ladders was first founde by them of the cyte of Capne /vpon whom they of within caſted veſſelles full of ſtones & them & theyre ladders with them bare doune al a tones/ there were alſo engins that called were ſambuce/ eyeſter thelemon/ ſambuce is an engyn whiche is made in maner of a harpe able to pree a wal & it is made faſt with cordes to the ſaid tolwre/ Eyeſter was called the bryggye that was let ſodaily doune for to go vpon it fro the tolwre vpon the walles/ thelemon was an engyn that was pight in the grounde in maner of a highe maſte/ & atte the top of hit was made faſt croſwoyſe another more longe that went vp & doune like a balance doeth/ & atte the one ende of it that was towardis ỹ walle a litell caſtel made with hirdellis & bordes wel ioyned & whan this litel caſtel was fylled with men of armes / ỹ other ende of this thelemon was lad adoune with cheines & wpis tyl that other ende was a litel higher than the walle & thus fought there the ſaid men of armes that were within the ſaid litel caſtel agey nſte them of the tolwne/ The deffece aienſt the ſaid engyns were gode mangonnelles & grete bombardes & grete ſtones that with engyns were caſt/ and grete & bigge croſbowes wel fenced with ſynewes and ſtrong wpys

¶ The remedyes aienſt the forſaid engyns of aſaut /

¶ Capitulo xxxbij

Ayenſt the engyn whiche is called mouton Vegece techeth many a remedye that is to wite/ that coyltres or matras ſes or ſarques full of wounge large & wide as coyltres / ſhal be hanged doune ayenſt the walle where as the maſte ſhall smyte/ and by the ſoftnes of thees thinges ſo hanged a long the walle the ſtroke of the ſaid engyn ſhal be corrumped

& Bayne/ Item men make another engyn which is called
Wolffe that hath an yron bowed with grete and sharp teeth
which engyn is in such maner sette to the walle that hyt
cometh & gropith the mase of the mowton/and holdeth it so
fast that hit can not be drawe nother forward nor bakward
ard/and som tyme they drawe him with ropes by boardys
so that hit can not hurt them no more/Item & yf it happeth
that the walle be by force pcrcd or taken thenne shall they
of the fortresse make with all haste another walle ayenst
the brokyn walle/and shall close their ennmies yf they can
betwene bothe walles & there they shall slee hem

¶ Remedye ayenst the myne/ Capi⁹ xxxviij/

AYenst that other maner of sawtynge of a fortres/
that is to wite by waye of vndremynynge that ma
de is vndre the erthe/may be such remedyes had/Fyrst they
of within muste alwayes sette a gode watche vpon the hy-
hest partyes of theyre tolwres/to take gode kepe whether they
can see from ony where men bringe erthe or som signe wher
by eny suspecion may be had/and with this they ought of-
tyn to herken bothe daye & nyght doune of the walle yf they
can here eny noyse or smytynge of hamers / & yf it happeth
them to perceyue eny thinge/they ought soone to make a cō
tremyne tyl that they come to the vndremynynge of theyre
enemies/& there with gode sperys & demy lances shall kepe
that they shal delue noo ferther/but furst they shall haue redy
at the entree of theire contremine grete tubbes & other vessel
les full of water & of pisse/& thēne they shall make as they
dyde fire & att theyre goynge out they shall lightly spylle ȳ
water castyng the tubbes & other vesselles downward / & yf
by the help of the women the water might be sedīge hote hit
were yet the better for/and by such maner of waye diuers

myneres haue be cawghte & slayne/ Item the patte cas that they of the ost shalbe haue do so muche that they had wonne the walles/ the towres & the yates of the cyte/ shall they of Walstone let hem self be slayne therfore as lestes/ & by buyl lement & fere to be taken as men taste the gamyle Undre the sparhalbike/ Nay/ but as Valyaunt Vassellos deffendyng al wayes to the dethe & hauynge styll a gode hope/ they ought to mounte vp to the wynnowes of the houses & vpon y thak; shes/ & with grete stones & tyles/ seduynge water/ hote asshes & quyk lyme/ they shall kylle & slee theyre enemyes as they go here & there by grete heres for to spoyle the towne/ & as they shall wolde to sette the houses on a fyre therme shall they of the towne brayne hem with stones which they shall caste downe/ and so dere they ought to selle theyre flesshe that hit be not for theire enemyes auayle/ For in suche a cas a gode co rage wondeth noo thenge/ and by this maneres of ways ma ny cytees & townes that were surpresed of theyre enemyes haue be delyuered fro hem to theyre tryumphall Victorie & to the shamefull rebuke of the enemyes/ for it is an ouere grete a thinge for men of armes to entre in anothers towne so that hyt be wel garnysshed & the dwellers of the same stren ghe of a gode corage for to deffende/ & naturally al man is bol de in sensynge of that that is his owne/ O what grete & a merueillable beames of corage had they of the cyte of mayen & ayenst theire enmyes when they sawe that they myght nomore holde ayenst y romayns that had longe siege so lon & ge before theyre cite/ for as they y wolde auther dey & distroy e the yre cite & theire goodes/ than that theire enmyes shulde thus be maistres nor enioye theyre grete tresors/ for sore vi ge they were/ they dide sett al theire cite on a fyre/ that grete sorowe were for to see al that there were in a flame where

as perysshed bothe wommen and chyldren/And a noone after yssued oute and full dere they solde theyre grete ire & theyr deth vnto the communaynes theyre enemys/of whyche were many slayne or euer they coude brynge them at an ende/& nothynge they gat there/One thynge lerneth vegece/ It is that yf thenhabytantes are come to this/late hym wel kepe hem self that they shette not the yates of theyre towne/ For he sayth/that in suche a caas men ought to gyue vawme to hys enemye for to goo a waye yf it seneth hym good by cause that yf he were kepte close/than myght hys streng the be doubled within hym self sayd that noo power he shulde haue to slee yf nede were/ ¶ Item it happeth oftentymes that they of the ooste doo fayne by cautelle that they departe a waye & with hys goo som what feere as some tyme dyde they of Grece before the grete Troye after the fayned pees ¶But soone after whan they thoughte that they of wythin were assured and that they made no grete force of noo watche nor kepte not hem self vpon theyre warde/thenne the grekes all styl by nyghte tyme retourned and dressed theyre ladders to the walles/and went vp where they fonde the wat chemen sore wery of longe watche doon in tyme past/that tho wed thenne to be seldre/a slepe and colopped one to other and so lyghtly they slewe them all/And by this maniere of wyse many cytees & townes haue be taken/Thus was the grete cyte of troye destroyed & semblably/shulde the cite of rome haue be dystroyed that tyme that hanniball of cartage was at sege before had not be the crye of the gees that by aduenture awaked the watche/& because that suche thenges are comonly atte all otheres/And stell houses ought to be made vpon the walles for to kepe the watchemen from colde in wynter/and fro the Sonne in the somer/ And in olde tyme

vnto my Wage to make the grete mastyues & fore bytynge
dogges in the said lytel bestes and bytwen the toloures / to
thende that by them shulde be fownden by theyre smellyng
the comynge of theyre enemyes / With theese maners and
wayes of deffences / techeth Vegece to them that be besegyed
and closed to be curyouse and dylygent for to voide & fle
the by sleyes and other meanes the comyng of theyre enemy-
es / For nothynge as more helpynge & for by thys they may
the bettre appoynte theyre voyages / Wherby yf they be of a
gode corage and that they may fynde the that theyre aduersa-
ryes be not vpon theyre Warde / or that they be at theyre refec
cyon takyng / or spoylyng here and there / nor haue noo suspe
cyon that they of Within come out to be fraght hem / thenne
shal they sodaynly assayen to renne Wythout the tolone vpon
hem / And manly yf they can yssue out of som fause dore or
posterne at the back syde of the bestes / and they muste kepe
Wel that theyre comynge and entreprise be not accused nor fow
nden / Wherby som barryement myght be sett for them by they
re aduersaryes that shulde slee hem as they sholde com out /
But yf they can surprise them by the forsaid maners of Wor
ke and that a harde corage lede hem / they shall medle make
hem self quit at that tyme of them / & to thys purpos of a har
dy corage of entreprynse makynge deffence for theyre cyte / hit
hath ben full merueyllous Wythin the hertes of them of the
cyte of Burgenetum Whyche Wythout that tyme that the romains
by myghty batayllys / hath brought hem so lowe that they durst
ne make nomore noon yssue out of theyre stronge cyte / Ne-
uertheles they delybered among hem that they shulde rather
dye all than so lyue as bestes / but fyrst they Wolde selle hem
self full dere fyghtyng Wyth theyre enemyes / ¶ And
therfore of such a quantyte of corne as they had dide bere Wo

a drynkie myxte with/ſuche maneꝛe of gexe ỹ aſtꝛe they had
taken hyt they were all dꝛonken So yſſued they oute thẽne
and ſo gꝛete faytes of armes they made/ that oꝛ euexe they
coude be all dyſtꝛoyed/ they had ſlayne almoſt al theyꝛe en-
myes/ And yf that ony party had be equall in quantite to
that othꝛe party/ not one Romayn ſhulde haue be lefte therꝛ
alyue But to the fyꝛſt puꝛpos ſayth Vegece/ And yf it hap
to fall ſo/ that thys enteꝛpꝛyſe be not fortunable foꝛ them/
and that they be Robuſtly pechaſſed/ they muſte byfoꝛe haue
oꝛdeyned that the yate be redely open foꝛ them And yf the
enmyes be ſo hardy that they come tyl vpon the bꝛygge oꝛ
namely within the gate folowyng the chaſſe/ they muſte be
ſoone ſhet and cloſed withinne/ and that vpon the wallꝛes
be ſtones ynoughe/ and gode ſhot foꝛ to cõueꝛe them thens
al maneꝛ of engyns ſo that they all noꝛ noo gꝛete bexe pe
tourne not a lyue/ ſo ſhal not the getyng be al togyder foꝛ
them/ But yet it is a gꝛete parell foꝛ to fyght vpon a bꝛyg
ge/ Eyſample by a kynge of Gallya called Brennus
which with hys gꝛete oſte that he led ayenſt the romma-
yns/ he oneꝛcharged ſo ſoꝛe the bꝛygge that he had doo make
of tymbeꝛ vpon the ryuexe of the woſne that hit brak and
therfore were hys men peryſſed there/ ¶ Item and yf it
happe that by a maneꝛe of patyſſe oꝛ by ſom accoꝛde oꝛ tꝛea-
tee ſhulde be beſpoken foꝛ to haue oꝛ delyuexe afoꝛtreſſe/ men
muſte ſouexaynly be aduyſed and wyſly that the vntrouthe
and trychery of ſom euyl and malycyouſe folkie may not de
ceyue the innocencye of the ſymple/ Foꝛ it hath be ſeen ma-
ny tymes that euyl couenaunces and peas by fyctyon ma-
de vndꝛe colourꝛe of gode concoꝛdaunce haue letted mocke mo
xe than hath doon ſtrengthe of armes

¶ Of batayllis that be made vpon the see/

Nodwynge the thynges be fore said he toucheth shortly ynoughe atte the ende of hys boke / of som conenable weyes longynge to batayllis that be made vpon the see or vpon flodes and ryuers/ And fyrst he spekith of the facion and makynge of the shyppes and galeyes/ sayinge that no wher in marche nor in aperyll the trees that thenne haue habondaunce of humore ought not to be felde a doune for to make eny shyppes with all/ but muste be cutte & thrawen doune in Jully and in the moneth of Auguste whan the humidytee of the trees begynneth for to drye vp / and that namely the bordes that therof be sawen & made therof ought not to be occupyed tyl that the weet be cleen goon fro them and that they may shrynke nomore/ With this he sayth that for to nayle the bordes of shyppes/ the nayles made of bras are best/ for wel that nayles of yron be stronger / but by cause that the bras hath more of moistenes within him self it kepeth better & more long in watre without wtynge ¶ Item he saith that they that by the see wol goo be it in armee or to som other adoo/ ought synguleryly to purueye of gode maryners expert and gode maistres that be able to that office/ and that can well skyl of the wyndes / and whiche thynge may lette hem and whiche not from the parelles of the see/ and that knowe the waues and the straytes/ and al so the maner of comyng out and of al maner hauenys & passages/ and that can goode skyle of the lyght marynall that is to say the sygnes and sterres of heuen wherand the gode maryners taken theyre regarde and dresseth them to theyre ryght waye/ And also in al other tokens whyche shewen fortune of the see to come shortly whiche tokens appye ren as well by the sonne as by the mone/ by the wyndes and

by the byrdes and namely by the fysshe of the see/ And that they be all maistres of reuolyng of theyre sayles / of drawyng of ropys and stables whan tyme is/ and aswell of castynge as takyng vp of theire ancres whan nede requyreth as whan they fynde hem self in batayll vpon the see/ and in other aduentures ¶ Item the puruesaunces duely made as it appartayneth / for to arraye a caruell ryght well for the warre or suche vesselles as men haue/ they muste be well furnysshed with gode men of armes and of shot /and he sayth/ that thoo that goo for to fight vpon the see/ appartayneth to be bettre & more strongly armed/ than thoo that fyght vpon the lande/ by cause they meue not so muche/ So ought they to haue amonge hem som small vesselles made at aduauntage that may wolde and sayll byfore all other euery where for to aspye and knowe the couuyne of theyre enemyes/ and whan they come nygh to seke them / men ought thenne to grete hem ryght well with gode bombardes and stones cast wyth dyuers engyns and with stronge balesters/ and whan the shyppes ben proched tyl eche other/ the valyaunt men of armes that trusten in theyre strengthe putte oune the bryggys and passen ouer in to the shyppes of theyre aduersaryes and there with goode swerdes axys and daggers they fyght togyder hand to hand/ And in the gruttest vesselles of warre men make some tyme towris and barbacanes to thede that like as men do from the hyghe walles they might cast downe dartis and wounde and slee/ It is a cruell thynge of suche a bataille where as men not onely by armes but also by fyre and by watre doo peryssse and hauyng no powere to glanche a syde nor to flee/ are lyuered oftentymes there all quykke & hole to the flode and vnto the fysshes/ brennyng arowes and dartes ben there thrawen that be lapt in

talde in brimstone in pitche and in oyle /ayenst the bordes of the shyppes that be made of drye boode and enoynted boyth pitche bohiche lightly be taken boith the fyre/ And thus some me perysshen there by proon/some be there brent and the other be constrayned to lepe in to the boatre boithout eny mercy/ and by thees waynes perysshen dyuersly many one that fight bpon the see

¶ Deuyseth of the garnysons that behouen to men of boer re that ben bpon the see/ ¶ Capytulo/ xxxix.

SO ought fyghters bpon the see to be garnysshed of bessels full of pytche and of wsyn/of beynstone & of oyle bohiche thynges ought to be medled altogider & lapt al in talde/& thees bessells kyndled & globyng hoot men ought to caste in to the shippes & gallees of the enemyes/& to assaille hem strongly forthboith / to thende that they haue noo leiser to quenche the fyre/& it is to be knowen that there is a maner for to make & compose certeyn fyre bohiche som folke calle grekys fyre/and yt may be so called boel/ by cause that it boas first foude by the grekys beyng at the sege byfore troye/ as som sayen/ Thys fyre bernneth namely in boatre/and stones & proon and al other thynges hit boasteth Nor hyt can not be quenched/but by certeyne myxtyons that men make for this cause/ Also there be made certeyne poysons so strong & so mortall /that yf eny proon boere touched boith the same/and after board shot or thraben to the body of eny man so that the blode lytyl or gyete cam out/the boounde shulde be dedely/ But suche thynges ought not to be doo nor taughte for cause of the euylles that myght folobe For they that soo doo are deffended and accursed It is not gode to boryte them in bokes/ nor more plamly to recyte

them/ be cause that it is not lycyte to noo cryſten man to vſe of noo ſuche inhumanitees that namely ben aienſt all right of warre/ Itē they that fighte ought alwayes to awayte of al theire powere to dryue and ſette theire enemyes a grounde & to kepe them ſelf in the depnes of the ſee/ Item to the maſte of the ſhippe ought to be made faſt a bygge tree whiche ſhal be armed with yron of that one part/ and therr ſette by ſuche a crafte that men may haue hym vp & doune for to gyue grete ſtrokes with all ayenſt the ſhyppe of the enemyes & ſo may be bruſed to peces/ whiche engyn may ſerue as doeth the mowton a forſaid/ Itē they muſte haue grete foyſon of arwes with brode hedes that ſhal be ſhot ayenſt the ſaille tyl that it be ſo perced & ſo rented that it can not holde wynde noo lenger ſo ſhal they not comme goo noo ferther/ Item a crokied yron miſtereth them made after the facion of a ſekill wel ſharp and trenchaunt with a long hafte wher with all they ſhal cutte aſonder the ropis & cordes that ſerue to the ſhyp of the aduerſaryes & with holes of yron that they ſhal caſte within they ſhall grype her/ & ſo ſhal bringe her and theires togyder ſo that they ſhal not mowe eſcape/ Itē it is gode to haue grete quantyte of pottes filled with ſofte zande/ whiche after they be ones caſte in to the ſhyp of the enemyes they can vnethe ſtande vpon theyre fete ſo ſlydrye it is ſo falle they thenne in to the watre that be nyghe the borders of the ſhypp/ And ſemblably ben good to be caſt therinne pottes full of quyk lyme made in to pouldre whiche at the breſtyng of hem ſhal fylle al theire eyen and theire mouthes ſo that with peyne they can ſee afore them/ Itē with thys they oughte to be garnyſhed of certeyn men that be lerned & taughte to ſwymme and plonge in to the watre/ and with a long breth to kepe them ſelf therynne/ whyche men ſhal goo

Smyte the ſchip of aduerſaryes whiles that the batayll la
ſteth and doth grete domyllis and alegeours ſhal perce the
ſhip vnderneth in dyuers places ſo that the watre ſhall
entre on all ſydes/ Item grete foyſon of ſtones/and ſharp
yrons ought to be there launched aand threalden and al other
thinges whereby they may ſooner berie the ſhip/ After the
forſayd thinges I may nold wel vſe of vegece hys olone
wordes atte the ende of his boke thus ſaienge/I byleue that
fram hens forth I may wel holde my peas of the dyſcypline
of armes / For in thees thinges the cuſtome and vſage
fynde often more of the art and of nedbe thynges than thau
cyent doctryne doeth ſhedbe/

¶ Here hymyſſeth the ſeconde partye of thys boke/& ſequent
ly folodeth the thirde partye that ſpecifieth of the ryghtes of
armes after the lawes/

The firſt chapitre deuyſeth by what meane ypyſtyne
added to thys boke that whiche is ſayd in the lawe of
the fayttes of armes/

¶ Item demaundeth Criſtyne/& the maiſter anſwereth / yf
the emperoure may of ryght moeue werre aienſt the pope/c/ij
¶ Item whether the pope may moeue werre ayenſt the
Emperoure Chapitre/iij/
¶ Item deuyſeth of the puyſſaunce and auctorite of the hed
captayne after the lawe/and for what cauſes the men of ar
mes may venne to the peyne capitall/ C /iiij/
¶ Item whether a vaſſall be holden by ryght of the lawe to
ſerue his lord in werre atte hys olone propre eyenſes/C/v
¶ Item demaundeth whether the feed men be more holden to
helpe the prynce ſouerayne in hys werre/than namely to thei
re naturell lorde/& yf a gentyl man holdeth two tenementys

of two lordes that make warre that one ayenst that other/ Whiche of them he ought to helpe/

¶ Item whether al maner of souldiours after the ryght of the lawe may goo in all maner of warres/& deuyseth of the parell where the man of armes putteth hym self whan he goeth to the warre that Iniuste ys and of makynge in the warre other wise than warre requyreth ¶/Bij

¶ Item speketh of the poppys ryght and the payment of the souldyours wages/ ¶/Biij/

¶ Item whether a captayne of a certeyne nombre of men of armes may transmute them atte hys wylle syn that they be retayned in wages/ ¶ /iv

¶ Item yf a lorde sende a man of armes in garnison to som fortres of his owne without that eny wages be promysed hym/& that hit happeth hym to be robbed and dyspoylled by the waye to whyche of bothe may he demaunde hys interesses and the recouere of his losse or to the lorde that so sent hym thidre/or to hym that so hath robbed hym/And yf a man of armes be com to serue a lorde in hys warre without couenaunt of wages/Whether the lorde be holden forto paye hym or not ¶ /v/

¶ Item yf a kynge had sent socours to another kynge without he had requyred hym so to doo whether he were holde for to paye them or not ¶ /vj

¶ Item yf a kynge hath warre with another kynge & is willyng to renne vpon hym with a grete ooste/Is nolde to wite whether the lordes thrugh whos lordshippes he and his oste must passe may by ryght chalenge the passage/holde wel ꝑ so were that noo harme were by hym nor hys doon there/& that noo vitaille they take but ꝑ they paied wel for/ ¶/vij

¶ Item and yf a man of armes lese bothe horse and

harneys and leseth hit nowe is to woite whether he shulde pay ye for hit or not/ ¶ yiij

¶ Itē yf a man that had be sore wounded of another the whiche after the stroke were fledde awaye/and that the other so hurt recovered helthe / & cam and hurted that other man/ Whether iustyce shulde punysshe hym therfore/ ¶ yiij*

¶ Item whether cavelles and subtylytees of warre are Juste and of reason to be doo/ ¶ /yB*

¶ Item yf a man of armes whiche is aaged ware distressed and robbed by the waye fom whence/whether he myght of ryght aske of the lorde that had sent hym forth his losse & domages ¶ /yBj

¶ Itē & yf a lorde doo sende socours of men of warre to som other lorde without he be so required of hym so to doo whether he to whome they ben thus sent is boūde for to paye them or not/ ¶ yBij

¶ Item whether it is licyte to men of warre for to take eny vitaylles of the poure or ryche man vpon the lande whan they be wel payed of theyre wages ¶/yBiij

¶ Item demaundeth what men ought to doo with suche dispoylles and propes that ben gotē by waye of warre/ ¶/yiy

¶ Item/ begynneth to speke of prisoners of warre / and aduyseth how a myghty man taken in warre ought to be presented to the prynce/and how not/ ¶ /yy

¶ Item whether men ought to doo deye the chief captayne of an ooste/or som other grete man of armes whiche is taken in the warre/or ellis to be delyuered to the prynce/ ¶/yyj

¶ Item whether it is ryght that men shall take vpon the enemyes grounde the symple labourers and plongh men that medle not of the warre ¶ /yyij/

¶ Item yf a studyaūt englysshman were fonde atte scoles

in partys/ or elles another lyke of another nacyon / Whether he myght be taken and putte to raenſon ¶ /xxviij/

¶ Item yf ſom greete lorde of England or of ſom other conſtrey where Werre is /which as madde and out of wit were fledde in to ỹ foreſt / whether men myght after ryght taken him & putte him to raẽſon he ſo being out of his wit/c/xxviij

¶ Item and yf it happed that vpon the fronteres he taken ſom olde man burgeys of london/or of ſom other cytee of england that neuere dyde medle of the Werre/ Whether ſuche a man ought for to paye raenſon or not by ryght of the lawe and ſemblably of a youge chylde/and alſo of a blynde man

¶ Item yf it happed ſo that ſom ambaxadours cam to Warr dys the kynge of Fraunce/and that they comynge thrughe Bordeaux/had hyred there of englyſhemen horſes or cartes Whether ſuche thynges myght be in Fraunce arreſted or not/And Whether an englyſh preeſte/ beyng in in Fraunce myght be putte to raenſon or not ¶ /xxix

¶ Item Whether a pryſoner of Werre which is al Wayes kept clos/yf he can goo out breking vp hys pryſon / ſhall renne in euy deffaulte ſo to doo ¶ /xxx

¶ Item Whether a gentyl man pryſoner of Werre ought rather to dey than to breke hys othe & his promeſſe /c/xxx

¶ Here after begynneth the thirde parte of thys boke Whych ſpeketh of the ryghtys of armes after the lawe Woryon/

¶ The fyrſt chapytre deuyſeth by What meane Cryſtyne added to thys boke that which is ſayd in the lawe of the fayttes of armes

As I dyde alwayes for to entre in to the thirde partye of
this present volie/ & that my wyt/as almoste wery of
the preſaut woeyght of the labour concernyng the two
other partyes precedent/ & as ſurpryſed with ſlepe lyenge
vpon my hed appiered byfore me the ſemblaūce of a creatu;
re hauyng the fourme of a ſtately man of habyte of chere &
of mayntery/ & lyke to alwyſe & ryght auctoriſed iuge which
ſaid vnto me thus/dere loue cryſtine of whiche in dede or el;
lis in thought the labour of ỹ exercyſe of ſtudienge neuer
more doeth ceaſſe/ atte the contẽplacyon of the grete loue that
thou haſte to thoo thynges that the lettres can ſhewe/ſpecyal
ly in exhortacyon of all noble werkes and vertuouſe condy
cyons am hyther nowo come for to be as to thy helpe in the
prfourmynge of this present volie of kinyghthode & of fayt;
tes of armes where as thou by grete dyligence moeued with
a good wille doeſt occupy thy ſelf/ And therfore confortinge
the good deſyre that thou haſte to gyue a cauſe vnto all
kinyghtes and noble men that ſhal wolde rede or here hit/ for
to employe and more embellyſſhe hem ſelf to thoos dedes that
nobleneſſe requyreth/ that is to wite to the ſayd exercyſe of
armes/ aſwell by labour of the body as by the ryght that
after the lawe wryton beloweth them/ ¶ It is good that
thou take and gadre of the tree of bataylles that is in my
gardyn ſomme fruytes of whiche thou ſhalt vſe/ So ſhall
thy goure/ and ſtrengthe the better gwolde wythyn thy ſelf
therfore for to make an ende of thy preſaunte werke/ and for
to bylde an edyfyce pertynaūt & conenable to the ſayenges
of Vegece & of the other auctours of whyche thou haſt ta;
kien help/ thou muſte cutte yet aſonder ſom of the braūches
of this ſaid tree/ & take of the beſt/ and vpon the ſame tymber
thou ſhalt ſette foundement of one of thy ſaid edyfyce/ For

the whiche to perfourme/ I as maiſtre / and thy ſelf as dyſci
ple/ ſhal be there with the as thy helper/ Thees thynges herde
me ſemed thenne that I ſaid to hym/ O dygne maſter I
knowe that thou arte that ſame ſtudye whyche I loue and
haue loued ſo moche that of nothynge more I remembre me
by whos hauntynge & vertue I haue al redy thanked be god
brought atte ayn ende many a fayre enterpryſe / Certes of
thy companye I am ryght glad / But where it ought not
to dyſpleaſe the maiſter yf a dyſcyple deſyrouſe of lernynge
moeueth queſtyons / I pray the to telle me yf eny rebuke
ſhal moue be caſte to the regarde of my werke/ for this that
thou haſt counſeylled me for to vſe of the ſayde fruyte/ De-
re lowe to thys I anſuere the/ that the more that a werke
is wytneſſed and approued of more folke/ the more it is au
ctoryſed and more auctentyke/ and therfore yf eny do mur
murr after the gyſe of euyll ſpekers ſapieng that thou reg-
geſt in other places I anſuere them that it is a comon vſe
emonge my dyſcyples to gyue and departe one to other of
the flourrs that they take dyuerſely out of my gardyns /
And al thoo that help hem ſelf with all they were not the
fyrſt that haue gadred them/ Dyde not mayſter John de
Mowñ help hym ſelf with in hys boke of the roſe of the ſay
inges of Lorrys/ and ſemblably of other/ It is thenne noo
rebuke/ but it is laude & prayſynge whan wel & properly
they be applyched and ſette by ordre/ and there lyeth the may
ſtrye therof/ and it is a token to haue ſeen and viſyted ma-
ny bokes/ But there as were euyll to propos men ſhulde
doo ſerue thynges whyche were taken elles where/ there we-
re the vice/ doo ſoo thẽne hardyly & doubte the not/ for thy werke
is goode/ and I certyfye the/ that of many a wyſe man hit
ſhal be yet ryght well commended and prayſed

¶ Cryſtyne demaundeth yf by ryght the emperour may make warre ayenſt the pope Capitulo .xj.

Thenne me ſemed that I ſayd ſoo ſithen ꝑ it is ſo/right ſolempne ruge that I ſhall adde in my boke of armes & of kynghthode yet of the fruytes gadred out of thy gardine by thy comaundement/Of ynge of them I ſhall aſke of the ſome queſtyons/Whyche appartene to the ſayde matiere of armes/that is to wite of the ryghtes that behouen therto after the lawe & ryght Wrytton/And fyeſt of all entrynge in the ſaid matyere I demaunde of the Sith that it is trou the that as in the begynnynge of thys boke I ſayde/and thy ſelf wel I wot ſhalt not denye hyt/that warres and batayl: les after ryght behouen not to be mayntened nor Juged but by the erthely prynces that of noo thynge holde theyr lan: des and countrees/but onely of god/as Emperours /kyn: ges dukes and other namely that be lordes / Whether the Emperour of rome that as to temporell Juriſdicyon/ is the prynceypall of the worlde/ may make after ryght Wrytton warre ayenſt the pope/and yf it ſo be that he thus entreprye: ſeth hit/Whether hys men and ſugettes/ be bounden for thys cauſe to come to hys callynge/ For hyt ſemeth that they ſhulde doo ſoo/by cauſe that Juryſdyctyon & lordſhyp is due to hym more than to ony lorde of the worlde/ and another more ſtronge a reaſon there is/that is to wite that it appar tyneth his ſubgettes to be to hym obeyſſaunt / or ellis for: fayt & forſwere hem ſelf of that whyche they haue promyſed him Whyat ſo euere he be gode or worthied al were he ſtiſmaty ſie & accurſed/dere loue to this queſtion I anſuere the/ that to moeue him were after ryght/he may not/& ſee here ꝑ reaſons that the lawe Wriiton therũto doeth aſſygne firſt for bicauſe

that he is procuratoure of the chyrche/ Soo it were a grete oultrage that the procuroure sholde be ageynst the mayster the whiche he ought to deffende there as he shulde offende It the emperoure is subgecte to the pope/ this can he not denye/ For hit appyereth clerly by thys that his electyon appartey neth & so moche lyeth in the pope that hit bilongeth to hym to enquyre yf he be a man ydone and hable to the see Imprey all/ and whether the electyon be duely made or not/ And for to crowne hym/ Thus thenne sith that he is subgecte vnto the pope It were grete wronge that subgecte shulde doo ayenst the souerayne/ And yet I say to the more / that yf the Emperoure ruleth not hym self and hys Empyre after the lawes of a gode Emperoure / the pope / may take from hym the dygnyte Imprevalle / And shall stablysshe ano ther in hys place / Soo ought not thenne nor may not the subgettes obey after ryght to the callynge of suche a werre/ but yf they will dysobeye god in prsecutyng of hys chyrche/

¶ Whether the pope may moeue werre ayenst the Emperoure or not ¶ Capitulo iij.°

Sith that it is so sweete maister/ that the Emperoure may not nor ought not to moeue werre ayenst the pope / I aske the whether the pope may moeue hit ayenst hym/ for it shulde seme naye/ seynge that he is lieutenāt to Jhu cryste in erthe so he oweth to ensewe hys steppes whi che were all peasyble nor neuer helped hym wyth werre/ and wyth this he sayd to hys apostles/ that they shulde not vse of lordshyppes as do prynces and lordes/ ¶ Item with this said saint pol / that they of the chyrche ought not to reuenge hem/ but ought to ouercome by suffraūce/ I answere the puttynge thees trasons apart/ & all other suche/ that the pope without faille may moeue werre ayenst the emperoure

in ſom cas/that is to wite/yf he by aduenture be heretyke or ſcyſmatike/ & yf he wolde vſurpe the ryght of the chyrche & take from her hir patrymonie and hir enheritaūce & Juriſdy cyons/and wel I ſay to the/that in thees caſes/he onely may not make hym were/but ſhulde be holden all Cryſten pryn: ces and other namely of the empyre/to help the pope as ſom tyme it happed to the pope Alexaundre the thirde of thys name/the whyche perſecuted of the emperoure went for hys refute to the kynge of Fraunce that putte hym ayen in to hys place / and nothynge it were that ſom ſhulde ſaie/ that god ſaide to ſaynt peter/that he ſhulde putte his kinyſe agay ne in to the ſhede/whiche was for to ſaye that with noo gle: uys the chirche ſhulde not ſmyte/ For he ſayde not that he ſhulde caſt hit awaye from hym/but that he ſhulde putte hyt vp in to the ſhethe ayen/whiche was to be ſignyfyed / that he ſhulde kepe hyt for the tyme to come/ For atte that owre he wolde not vſe of hyt in dede/

¶ Of the puyſſaunce and auctorite of the captayne of the prynces kinyghthode after the lawe/and for what thynges men of armes may renne in to capitall peyne/

¶ Capytulo/iiij°

Maiſter it ſuffyſeth me ynoughe as to this cas/ But pleaſe the to telle me yf I haue here bifore all ynoughe ſuffyſauntly ſpoken of thoffice of the hed captayne of the ooſt of the prynce how be it that other tymes I haue be in: fourmed of many thynges pertynent to hys offyce/yet I de ſyre to here more therof of the / fayre loue to this I anſue re the that fayre / and well thou haſte ſayde therof ¶ Yit mayſt thou adde therunto other auctorytees that the lawes gyue hym with the charges that

appartenyne to hym/ that is to wite to gyue licence to his men of armes for to go where it is nede/ as well for theyre owne besynesses in tyme conuenable/ as for the kayt of ỳ were with out whiche licence they owe not to vndertake noo thynge/ Also it appertayneth to hym to comytte them here and there to the proffyte of the were after hys gode aduyse and the co unseille that he hathe/ and to hym appertayned to gyue good kepe that fro the countrey noo man of were departe for to goo som els where without the lordis leue/ And ought to kepe the keyes of the castelles and of the townes there as he go oynge to the were hathe lodged him self Item to hym be longeth to comytte and ordeyne them that shall kepe watche in the ooste/ and to take dyligētly kepe vpon al the his what mesure of corne and of wyne/ & that the weyght & all suche thynges be there Juste/ and to punysshe them that falsly vse of the same Item to hym appartayneth to here & vnderston de the debates & questyons of them of the ost/ & to Juge ther of dooyng ryght to euery one/ be it gentyl man marchaunt or other that to hym woeth complayne vpon ony of hys/ Su che and many other ben that long were for to saie whiche be houen to a hed captaine But with this for to lerne the lettre I will saie the cases after oure ladies whereby the men of were may renne in to prime capitall/ the lawe saith that he that smyteth the captaine by euyl wille ought to lese ỳ hed / & like wise he ought to lese hys hed whiche is rebell & gainsainge in ordynaūce of a batayille/ Item semt lawly he that fyrst renneth awaye fro ỳ bataille yf the other abide stylle there Item he ỳ is sent as for ābaxatour to ỳ aduersaries or for to aspye them yf he openeth or by eny waye declareth ỳ secretes of his par tye/ Item he that excuseth him self by a made & vntrewe escu sacyon by cause he wol not be atte ỳ bataille with hys lorde/

Item he that offendeth not to hys power his captayne yf he see other that assaille hym/ Item who that departeth fro the ost without leue for to make other armees remeth also after the lawe in to peyne capitall what someuere other gode or fayre acte that he make other where/ Item that letteth that pees be not made/ Item that procureth that in the oste be dyssencyon and mortall ryote made/ Item that stelleth or robbeth the prouysyons of the oste/

¶ Whether the vasselle is holden after right for to goo in hys lordys werre atte hys owne costes/ ¶ Capitulo/ B

By cause that it is of costume that euy kynge or prynce or lorde doo sommone or calle his vassell for to be hys aide in faitte of werre Iassie if the saide vassell is holden for to goo after ỹ lawes to the callynge of his lorde/and yf it be thus that he is bounde for to do so/whether it ought to be atte hys owne expenses and costes or atte the costes of the prince or lorde / dere loue for to answere the lettre to thy demaunde it behoueth to aduise & see what thynge contryneth the othe of fydelyte that he maketh that entreth in feyth of som lande or possessyon moeuable in fee from som lordis lordshyp/ so ben there thenne six prynceppall couenaũces after the decret & lawe cyuyll/ The first is that by hys othe he shal neuere pour chasse that day that he lyueth the dõmage of his lorde (Nor in noo place he shal be to his knowlege where it is machyned nor purchassed The ij/is that he shall neuere discouere nor telle his secret of that thynge that to hym might be preiudiciable/the iij/ that he shal be for hym in al manere of cas iuste good and reasonable ayenst all men exposynge bothe his body and hys power atte hys nede in fayttes of werre well and truely atte al tymes that he shal be requyred/ The fourth that he shall neuere be consentyng to the domage of

L roberam: ỹ laire

hys goodes/possessyons nor herytages nor ayenst his Wyll
¶ The fyfth that yf it happe that his lorde haue to doo of hym of eny thynge that he goodly can doo he shal not excuse hym / sayenge that ouere strongе and to dyffycyle it is to hym for to doo/ The/vj/that he shall not sehe noo Wayе for to excuse hym self for to letте that he shal not goo to hys lorde atte hys commaundement and callynge / Suche ben or ought to be after the decretall and cyuyll ryght the promesses by feythe and other made of the Vassall to hys lorde/ By the Wyche promysses hyt appyereth ynoughe that the Vassalles be holden for to be With theire lorde and for hym in hys Werres/and to serue hym Wel and truly With all theire puyssaunce Vndre thobligacyon of lesynge of all thеyre lā des that they holde of hym as forfayt to the souerayne/ And as god sayth in the gospell/Who that is not With me is ayenst me/so ought to be vputed to be ayenst theyre lorde thoo that faille hym in thys behalffe/ And therfore they ought to be dyspoynted of the landes that they soo holde/but neuer theleſſe noo lawe byndeth them not that they atte theyre owne costes shulde serue /but to the lordes owne proyre Vsages/Without it Were that the lande Were bounde so to doo of auncyente/ As it is of certeyne towones that at theyre owne costes and expenses be holden to serue theyre prynce durynge certeyn space of tyme of som quantyte of folke in hys Werres/ And good is there the reason Why they ought not soo/ For Why nor for What occasyon shulde the lorde take the reuees of hys landes Vpon the men and many other charges/but it Were for to mayntеyn hys estate and putte in tresoure for to susteyne With all hys Werres yf nede be to hym/ but not therfore Without fayll/ yf it Were so that the lorde had nomore Wher With to mayntеyn them/and that hys

demayne ſuffyſed not/ and had neceſſyte ſpecyally for to kee-
pe and deffende hys lande/hys ſubgettes of ryght are holden
to ſette a ſubſydye vpon them ſelf / or ellis to gadre them
ſelf togyder tyl a certeyn nombre all apparelled in armes
for to helpe hym atte theyre owne expenſes / And in cas
that they were not voyllynge ſo to doo/they may be of ryght
conſtraygned therfore/ſpecyally yf the enemyes were come
vpon hys lande to renne vpon hym/ For after the lawe def-
fenſable were ys preuyleged mocke more than is the wer
re offenſable/ But trouthe it is that yf a prynce or lorde had
nede to take ſuche ayde/he ought to kepe wel that it be not to
the vndoynge of hys peple/nor he ought not to employe hyt
to noon other vſe/leſt hit ſhulde be to hys grete charge/ and
the cōſeiller that other wiſe ſhulde conſeylle hym |hyt were
to hys dampnacyon/ Nor noo gode kyng or prynce ought
not to take hede nor herkien after the feyned wordes of ſuche
a counſeyller/but ought to hate hym as enemye bothe to his
ſowle and to hys body/ For he ſhulde counſeylle hym hys
dampnacyon/and ſholde putte hym in the waye to leſe the
loue and gode voylle of hys ſubgettes/

¶ Whether the feed men or vaſſalles ben more holden to
helpe theire ſouereaine lorde/than namely theyr naturell lorde
And yf a gentyl man holdeth two feodable tenementes of
two lordes whiche make were one ayenſt that other/ Why-
che of bothe ſhall the gentyl man helpe/ ¶ Capitulo/vj/

SWete maiſter ſoylle me thys queſtion / I ſay ſyth
that it is ſo that a vaſſall is holden for to helpe hys
lorde of whome he holdeth hys lāde ayenſt euery man
It ſemeth thēne that yf a kynge or prynce had were aienſt

ſom of hys barons/that the ſubgettes of the baron of whom they holde ſhulde be bounde to helpe theyre lorde ayenſt ỹ kynge or prynce/For to the kynge they haue not promyſed noo fe alte but onely to theyre lorde of whome moeueth theyre lyf lode wythout exceptyon/Here lowe to this queſtyon I ſhall ſhortly anſwere without fayll / holde well that by reaſons ynouhe thou mayſte argue with ſayenge that aſwell may the lytel man helpe hym ſelfe of hys after the lawe/as doeth the grete/and thus thenne/why ſhal not the baron helpe hym ſelf with hys men that fealtee haue promyſed hym/and not to the kynge ⁊ c̃/And many other thynges that thou migh teſt adledge to thys purpos/neuertheleſſe I telle the that all reaſons to the contrary/after oure lawes ben admitted and of noo value/For in good feyth noo ſubgett is not holden to helpe hym of whome he holdeth hys lande ayenſt hys ſouerayne lorde / but myſdoeth and putteth hym ſelf yf he ſo doo vnder peyne capytall / as he that offendeth the ryall maieſte/ For what thowhe the baron be lorde naturall to the ſubgett/Neuertheles the kynge or prynce vnder whom they be ys ſouerayne/And yf thou ſaye to me/ thenne doo they forſuere hemſelf/I anſwere the/Nay/For noon othe can not bynde noone to do cuyll / whiche they ſhulde doo for to holde in vnfeiednes with theyre lorde that wolde be ayenſt theyre ſouerayne lorde/Here maiſter a more harde queſtyon and that all ynoughe dependeth here of I will to ỹ make I ſuppoſe that two barons of the reame of Fraunce or of ſom other countrey haue werre one ayenſt the other for the whiche cauſe they ſende and calle theyre men / and ſoone hyt happeth that the kynge for hys werres and deffence of hys lande hath nede of men and he maketh hys maundement in whyche are compryſed the ſubgettes of the ſayd two barons /ſoo

asshe I nolde of the yf they be bounde for to come to the kyng after hys maundement and callynge/ or ellis to goo to theyr lorde/ To this questyon conformynge the precedente/ I answere the that after ryght and lawe they are holden to come to the kynge and leue theyre lorde/ And thes reasons assygneth therunto/ the fyrst is/ that the kynges dueres or of the prynce souerayne beholdeth the comon weele and vtylyte of all the realme or lande/ the whiche dueres ought to be more preuileged than the synguler vtylyte of a baronye/ The seconde is/ that they are holden to the kynge of a generall iurisdicty on whiche is of moost auctorite/ and hathe a hyghe poduere ouere the lowe Jurysdycyon of a baronye/ The thyrde reason is/ that hyt appertayneth not/ that the lowe offycer haue auctorite nor puyssaunce to be obeyed byfore the lorde/ and leseth hys poduere/ assoone as the auctorite of the souerayne prynce cometh forthe/ as the lyght of a candelle is lytell and is lost/ assoone as that the bemes of the sonne cometh on/ Yet another questyon I putte vnto the/ I suppose that an Erle or a baron of the realme of Fraunce/ holdeth certeyne landes of the kynge of Arragon or of som other kynge/ and that it happeth so that all vpon one tyme the sayd two kynges of Fraunce and Arragon/ sende for the sayde Erle or baron for to help them in theyre dueres/ to whyche of thees two kynges shall he thenne obeye/ For Impossyble it is to be in two places attones/ and it shulde seme that he myght be excused fro goynge to nother of bothe / I answere the shortly that he can not excuse hym self nother of the one nor for the other wythout he wol lese the ryght of fealtee / That is to wete/ that he muste goo to that one of whiche he holdeth moste / and to that other he shall sende a certeyne of hys men / A more harde questyon I the demaunde/ yf it happe that the

sayd two kynges a bone sayd make warre one ayenst the other/ I can not sele nor vnderstande to whiche of bothe he ought to goo/but that he shall lese one of hys landes/I saye to the/that the precedents answere may yet serue to this questyon after som opynyons/that is to wite to goo to the one / and sende to the other/but thys thynge colde not be wel supported in ryght/ For yf he shulde doo soo / thenne must hys owne men be ayenst hym/ And therfore no bet: Nota
tre remedye nor waye I can herto / but to chese the one that hym shall best please/and to leue and for sake that other of all poyntes/or ellis to haue grace of eyther of them / that he shall not arme hym self nor noon of hys for to gyue ayde to nother of bothe / And knowest thou what to suche a vassall appertayneth/ On my feyth/to endeuoyre hym self of all hys puyssaunce that peas may be founde betwene hem bothe

¶ Whether all souldyours may goo after the lawe to al manere of warre and deuyseth the parell wherynne the man of warre putteth hym self for to goo to the warre other wyse than the ryght of warre requyreth/

¶ Capitulo / vij/

QAyser as by the I vnderstande me semeth that the subgettes be bounde for to goo to the warre wyth theyre lorde yf they be called and sommed for to doo soo / not at theyre expenses / but takynge wages of theyre lorde &c̄/ Soo soyle me thenne yf yt please the another questyon/ I aske the/thoughe hyt be so that the coustume is ynoughe generall emonges men of warre/that who wyl take wages of all lordes/townes or countres for to serue in al maner

of werres / they all seynge of one contrey borne or of what straunge landes that they be of / Yf thys men of werre that be not alle of one Contrey nor subgett / may lieytely doo soo ¶ For it shulde seme nay / seynge that fayttes of werre must be executed by occyson and other dyuers euyl les / whyche thynges be deffended emonge crysten folke by the lawes of god / To thys questyon derr loue I answere the And thy self hast touched of hyt al ynoughe in the bygyn; nyng of thys bolie / that to al Juste werre may goo euery man that wyl and take wages for to serue to the same / for a Juste werre for to kepe or recouere ryght / whereof the ryght wayes therof be not trespassed / that is to wyte that spoyl; lynges nor robberye be not made vpon the countrey where frendes be / nor other dyuerse greuaunces and dommages of whyche men of werre comynly vsen wikkedly in whiche doynge they mysdoo greetly / is not vniuste nor deffended by the lawe / but it is permytted to be / For it is a veray ex cusyon of Justyce that god suffred and consenteth / to then de that wronge may be brought ayen to ryght / thonghe that god suffreth werres to be made som tyme dyuersly ayenst ryght and reason / the whiche is as the scourge of god / and punysshyng for the synne of the folke / but for to come ayen to the fyrst propos / I say to the that euery man that ryghte wisely wil expose him self to werre / he ought first to be right enfourmed of the quarelle / and knowe whether the chalenge be iuste or not & yf thou aske me how he shall mowe knowe the same For of all partyes that folke doo make werre eue rychone sayth that the cause of hys quarelle is iuste / Late hym enquere yf suche werre hath be Juged fyrst of gode Ju; rystes or lawers / or whether it be for cause of deffense ma; kynge / For in cas of deffence al werre is gode that is to

wyte/ to deffende hys countrey yf hyt be assayled/ And that herof ought the man of werre to be wel enfourmed or euere he putte hym self therto/ I wol thou knowe that yf the quarelle be Iniuste/ he that thus exposeth hym self dampneth his sowle/ and yf he deyeth in suche astate he goeth in to the waie of perdycyon without grete repentance at the laste/ but litel force they make therof/ For ynoughe there be that care not what the quarelle be/ so that they haue gode wages and that they may robbe/ ¶ Helas the dolent and sorowfull deth coming oftymes sodaynly may sende them in to helle anone with one strooke onely/

¶ Here speketh of the wages of Souldyours/ Capi°/ viii

TO thende that the noble men that thys present bokes shall mowe rede or here/ aswell for the tyme present/ as that is to come/ may knowe of whyche thynges the lawe gyueth lycence to be doon in the werre/ and of whiche not/ And by cause dere loue that here byfore thou hast remembred me of wages that souldyours ought to haue/ I shal telle the one partye of that wherynne the man of werre byndeth hym self takyng wages/ and also in what maner the lorde is holden to paye the sayd wages/ and in what maner not/ For suche thynges be conteyned in the lawe/ Fyrst it is to wite that euery lorde/ or certeyne towne or comyn lordship/ that taken folke in to wages/ is holden to paye them for al the tyme that they be so taken be they putte to werke or not/ and namely supposed that they were soiourneynge & dyde nothyng/ so that the fawte were not in them and that they were alwayes redy for to employe themself/ & yf fawte of payement be there made after the promesse I saye that by ryght and reason/ they may aske hyt by faire Iustyce/ Nowe maister sith that in this matere we be entred

and that ye say that the lorde is holden to paye the men of
Armes wages supposed that they were al wayes abyding
in one place nought wonynge/I wol to thys propos make
vnto the som demaundes/ First I suppose that a cappytayne
with a companye of folke be retayned in to the kynges wa-
ges & by his comaundement is sent in to Guyenne or somwh
here ellis ayenst hys enemies & in going thither hit happeth
soo that they lodge hem self in a certayne place where the fol-
ke of the towne haue malycyously poysonned bothe the bre
de and the wyne there/wherby som of them dey and the other
tarye there syke by the space that they shulde haue serued
wherfore it is not in theyre power to serue the kynge as
they had promysed/Soo demaunde I of the yf they ought to
haue lost the wages of that tyme to this questyon I answe
re that nay without faille/seeyng yet that theyre maladye
is caused of the seruyce/For sykenesse by the lawe excuseth
the man nor for this case he ought not to lese ony dystrybu
cyon/syth that the malady is com to hym after his retenne
in to wages/ ¶ Another questyon I wyl make vnto the
Yf a souldyoure be retayned in to wages for a hole yere and
that in thys meane tyme he haue a woo in hys house/wherfo-
re he cometh to the cappytayne and taketh leue of hym for to
goo see hys wyffe and hys housholde for the space of a mon
ethe/I aske the yf by ryght he ought to haue his wages for
the tyme that he is soo absent/To the same I answere the/
that the nature of the ryght of armes is suche/that so grete
a myght hathe the leue and lycence taken of the captayne
and it is of so grete a preuilage/that syth that the captay-
ne hathe wyth good wylle graunted the sayde leue/the sayd
man of armes ought to be reputed as for resydent and pre-
sent/ For alwayes he is abydynge seruaunte to the lorde

ſyth that he was reteyned for a hole yere/But it is wel trou
the that yf he were bounde by dyuyſyon of tyme / that is to
wite that without moo he were reteyned att a certeyne for
euery monethe/there ſhulde I ſpeke otherwiſe/Another que
ſtyon I make/A kny3ght for a hole yere is taken in to wa3
ges for to ſerue the kynge in hys werres/& after that he ha
the ſerued one quarter of the yere he wol departe and aſke
hys wages for the tyme that he hathe ſerued/and the capy3
tayne therme gaynſaith hyt ſaynge that for one hole yere he
had taken hym/and yf he had not be he ſhulde haue taken a
nother/and that whoſoeuere perfor meth not his ſeruyce he
leſeth his hyre/Wherfore yf cas be that he goo hys waye ſo
he mor3yſyeth his hyre/ To thys I anſwere the that good
ry3ght hathe the captayne/For yf the man of armes faylle
fyrſt of hys promyſſe / It is not reaſon alſo that couenaũt
of wages be kept vnto hym/ Yet namely more ſtronge I
telle the that yf by hys owne deffawte he had loſte hys ho3
ſes or hys harneys/and that he myght not recouere noon o
ther/ wherby he were not able to ſerue/he in thys cas ought
to leſe all the tyme that he hath ſerued for ſeruyce ought not
to haue noo hyre tyl that hit be compliſſhed/in cas al wayes
that noon other couenaunt were made/For couenaunt and
bargayne made paſſeth all lawe/ And by all thus thou
maiſte ſee that the euyll thynge that medled is wyth the goo
de/retou3neth the goode wythe euylle/Mayſter now anſwe
re me to thys demaunde/A valyaunt man of armes is ta
kyen for to ſerue all a hole yere ſoone after it happeth that he
hath muche to doo atte hys hous wherfore he wol goo/and
takynge hys leue he ſayth to the captayne that he ſhall putte
another for hym in his wlome for to ſerue as he ſhulde hym
ſelf/ and to thys gaynſaith the capytayne ſayenge that he

had taken hym for cause of hys worthynes good manhode and wysedome/ and that with peyne he shulde fynde one that shulde suffysaunthy kepe hys volome/the souldyours re plyeth sayenge that certeyn a doo and besynes is come vpon hym wherby he shulde lese hys lande and hys herytage yf he in hys owne persone were not there / and that by reason he is more holden to helpe hym self with hys owne stren gthe and wysedome / than eny other / wherfore he may not nor can not compelle hym to abyde/ The capytayne answereth that he is bounde vnto hym by othe vpon the holy euangilles and that a man is not atte hys owne lyberte that byndeth hym self to another /Nowe master determyne thou thys questyon/ For seeynge the reasons of the sayde man & that in hys place he wyl leue for hym a suffysaunt man/hyt shulde seme that quyte he myght goo / I answere the that for to determyne hys questyon grete consyderacyons must be had/ For it is noo doubte but that of a comyn man of armes shulde suffyse man for man/but to saye that yf he were so so lempne and so gretly able that with peyne myght another kepe hys volome/and that he shulde leue another for hym muche lesse than hym self and not able/ it were not reason / but yf it happed that he dide putte one as gode as he/thenne wold not I gaynsey hys departynge/ For as I haue tolde the byfore/a man of armes is not maister of hym self / sythe that he is bounde to another by othe/ Therfore I telle the that suche a man shulde not be therof quyte whatsoeuere a doo that he hadd/but that the prynce or hed capteyne sholde holde hym for quyte by grace especyall/and a gode reason is there/ For yf he had bounde hym self to paye ten elles of Scarlete and that he shulde paye in stede of that ten elles of cours kendall he ought not to be holde quyte therfore /thaughe it be so that

alle he clothe/

¶ Whether a captayne of men of warre may chaunge and take other after hys wylle after that they be ones retayned/

¶ Capytulo / ix/

Mayster another questyon I make dependynge ynowh of that other aforsayde I suppose that a capytayne of whens someuere he be is retayned in to wages for a hole yere with an hondre men that he hathe brought with him whiche haue made all theyr mustres and are writton/It happeth that a monethe after/he wol chaunge hys folke all or a parte therof & putte other in theyre places/ I aske of the yf after ryght he may thus doo & it shulde seme ye/For it ought to suffyse yf he haue a/C/men of armes couenable as he hathe promysed/and wyth thys/yf he myght not doo soo and that he had noon auctorite therof hyt were to hys grete prejudyce/For yf emonge hys nombre he salde som euyl men and of peruerse condycyons as theues or kepynge euyll rule to the grete hurte of the other that be gode / wherby he might be blamed/were it not thenne better that they were chaūged/ than lefte styll in theyre rowme/to this I answere the/that right is so Juste a thynge & so reasonable that hyt wol be vnderstand of euery one without wronge to be doon and therfore I telle the that the pety captayne whiche is vnder the captayne pryncypall/may not godely doo this wyth out the licence of his gruter/for yf it were soo/hyt shulde lye in hym to make many extorcyons to the smalle felawes yf hyt shulde please hym/that is to wite / to take other for som fauoure or for couetyse to take fro them a part of theyre wages /or by what soeuer wyle/and to putte out thoo y better were/soo ought he to be aduysed afore hād to take such

Nota

ſe lawes wyth hym that it be noo nede to chaunge them/
And yf they muſte be chaunged by ſom aduerſyte that is
in them/it is hys dyſworſhyp wham ſuche he hath choſen/&
yf it happeth all endes that there muſte be chaunge made
and putte another he without faylle ought not to do ſo with
out the loue of the ſouerayne of the oſte/ and that it be yet
by a grete conſyderacyon/And yf it happeth that by hymſelf
and of hys owne auctorite he doeth it/It is noo doubte /but
that he that ſo is putte out of wages may complayne hym
to the hed captayne eſpecyally yf he a man good and able/and
ought to haue ryght therof/And to retourne to the proces
of the captaynes that be couetouſe that many decepcyons
and barates may doo to the ſmalle felawes there ben ynoug
he the wyche receyue the hole payement that they kepe in
theyre owne handes and it ſuffyſeth them to content and
peaſe theyre men wyth a lytyl thynge / And paraduenture
ſuche felawes dare not complayne by cauſe theyre couena-
unt/and bargayne was ſo made wyth them for to be taken
in to wages wherunto by ſuche meanes they be retayned a-
noone wyche is a grete ſynne to al capytaynes that ſo doo
For they be conſtrayned therfore to doo many cuylles
more than they ſhulde doo yf they were wel payed / Soo
ſhulde the hed capytayne take goode hede to ſuche thynges/
For atte leſt may not the poure ſouldyours kepynge a ſote
or ony horſbacke men of ſhot or other but to haue that poure
payement and ſalarye that they wynne puttynge hem ſelf
in parell of theyre lyues and to ſo grete a trauayll of they-
re bodyes /Soo doeth he grete ſynne that taketh fro them or
minuſheth theyre wages of eny thinge/& alſo the ancyēt wolde
neuer haue ſuffred this/but they were more content that the
getyng ſhulde tourne rather to the ſouldyours/than to theyre

owne prouffyt/ For the auayle they wolde that they had/ but the honour dyde suffyse them to be reserued for them self/ ¶ Here sheweth/yf a lorde sente a man of armes for the garnyson of som fortresse of hys owne without that eny wages be promysed hym/and it happeth that he is dys; tressed and robbed by the waye/to whiche of bothe he may as kie his interesses and damages/or of the lorde that sent hym or of hym that so hathe dyspoylled hym ¶ Capitulo /x/

Another demaunde I make vnto the I suppose that a lorde hathe werre wyth another lorde/ so sendeth he a knight to som fortres of his owne for to kepe it wit hout that euy couenaunt of wages he make to hym/ It hap peth to thys knyght by the waye that hys goodes/hys hor; ses and his harneyse be by force taken from hym/ to whyche of bothe may by ryght askie the sayde knyght hys losse or of hym that sendeth hym/or of hym that hathe robbed hym/ I answere the that he may askie it of eyther of bothe / that is to wyte of hym that hath sent hym by actyon of maunde; ment/and of the other by actyon of vyolence don in dede/ And yf by the first is restytucyon made vnto hym/than is he holden to leue in hys handes thactyon and the ryght of the demaunde that he myght haue made to that other /by streng the and vertue of whiche/the lorde that so hathe made resty; tucyon to thys knyghte may recouere hyt vpon that other/ ¶ Now telle me morouere / a baron hath certeyne werre vnto vrhome a knyght of his curteysie cometh to hys ayde & in his felisshyp wolde that he be requyred therof/ I demaunde of the/yf the same knyght after hys seruyce don may as; kie yf it plese hym eny wages/ ¶ For it shulde seme/nay ¶ For why / he was not called therto/and it semed that his entent was to serue hym for a curtoysye/ I answere

hym to thys/but yf that he be of hys kynne or lynage / or that he be gretly holden to hym/or that he were thyther com by weye of charyte and loue/he may curteysly make aſſaye ge without fayll ſom what for to ſuſteyne hys eſtate and kepynge yf it ſo pleaſeth hym for to doo/ For the lawe ſayth that noon ys holden to arme hym ſelf for another atte hys owne coſtes So ought to ſuffyſe the lorde that he hath had the ſocours of that other/ And in aſmoche that more ſurely he ys com the more beholden is the lorde vnto hym/ And ought to ſatyſfye hym/other by wages or by other gyftes or benefaytes/ ¶ Mayſter I ſuppoſe that the kynge of Arragon ſhulde ſende to mowue a grete oſt of hys folke to ſocoure the kynge of Fraunce in hys werre for a certeyne ſpace of tyme of hys owne pure curteyſye wythout ỹ he had be requyred by noo maner of weyſe / but ſhulde doo thys onely for to yelde ayen a ſucke and ſemblable curteyſye as he dyde receyue ſom tyme / I aſke of the weſt ther this folke after theyre ſeruyce doon may aſke wages/ For it ſhulde ſeme nay / ſyth that they haue ben ſent as a thyng that was due/ For hold myght they aſke payement of that wherfore they be come for to make ſatisfaction there as they be bounden/I anſwere the my loue/that yf the kyng ge of Fraunce hathe ſerued ſom tyme the kynge of Arra gon or other in his werre of certeyn nombre of men of werre payed for ſpace of tyme/as it is ynought of cuſtome emonge prynces keynge gode frendes / to do ſo that one to that other / Semblably is bounde by ryght of gentilnes the kynge of Arragon to doo for the kyng of Fraunce at hys nede / ¶ Not ſoo / that by ryght the kynge of Fra unce myght aſke hyt of hym / but yf other condycyon of conenaunt were there / ¶ For he that freely gyueth

may not constrayne to be rewarded/ But in what somtuere manere that the comynge be/ the kynge of Fraunce is holden by ryght to rewarde hem wyth yeftes/ Yet J demaunde of the/ J suppose/ that a lady the whyche is a wydowe holdynge a lordshyppe/ be oppressed by werre wrongfully of a grete lorde or kinyght/ to the whyche wydowes helpe goeth a gentyl man moeued with pyte and for to kepe the ladyes ryght and to encreace hys renommee in worthynes of kinyghthode/ and to saye all/ he doeth there so grete fayttes of armes that thrughe hys prowesse/ brigeth the sayd lady atte a good ende of hir werre/ and doeth a playne restytucyon to be made vnto her/ myght thenne thys kinyght after thees thynges by hym thus doon aske eny salary or wages for hys benefayttes/ as he that wel hath deserued hyt/ J answere to the that nay/ For without her mandement or callyng he myght not constrayne her to gyue hym wages/ & yf thou wyl saye to me that gretly he hath doon the proffyt of the lady/ J answere the that more grete honour he hathe made hys owne/ in asmuche that he is enhaunced therby in renommee of honoure and worshyp So is he payed al redy of the salary and rewarde that he sought/ But wel it is trouthe/ that yf the lady be of power and that she haue wherof she ought to deale so with hym/ that she gyue hym exsample and namely to al other in suche a wise that yf she had to doo another tyme she myght be gladly socoured yet ageyne/

¶ Yf a kynge hathe werre with another and is wyllyng to renne hym vpon/ Whether the lordes by whos landes he and hys oste muste passe/ may chalenge hym the passage or not

¶ Capytulo / xij/

Of the thynges of armes I wol make vnto the other maner of questyons I suppose that the kynge of Fraūce for cause of som chalenge or quarell wyl make werre ayenst the kynge of hongry wherfore he doeth calle hys ost to gyder for to go vpon hym/for the whiche cause the kinge of Fraunce writeth to the duke of austryche ỹ thrugh his land he may passe awaye/and he assureth hym that neyther euyll/hurt nor noo damage shall not receyue his countrey nother by hym nor by hys men/but rather good & proffyte in asmoche that for hys money he shall take vytaylles there/ The duke of austryche that maketh doubte of thys proincesse/answereth to the kinge/that therof he wyl be made sure by gode hostages/that restytucyon shall be to hym made yf eny greeff or damage is doon vnto hym atte this cause/ Soo demaūde I nowe of the/what of ryght is to be doon in thys byhalffe/ For the duke sayth that he is prynce within hys lande/so shall noo man passe there thurgh that bereth armes without hit please hym/And of that other parte/ we putte cas that he consenteth the same/yet it sholde be harde that suche an oste shulde passe nor myght passe wythout grete oultrages shulde be doon and therfore he wil haue of restytucyon a good surete/ Loue I answere the that by the ryght wrytyng/ he that for hys good ryght and iuste quarelle goeth to where may and ought to haue hys waye and passages and comyn waayes by all realmes and landes soo that noo greeff nor hurt be there made by hym nor his men/ And thus thenne syth that ryght geueth it hym he nedeth not to gyue noon hostages for that whiche of ryght ought to be do and this is wytnessed by the decretall where as it recyteth thystorye how that whan the people of Israell went ayenst theyr enemyes they must nedes passe thurgh the coūtrey

of the Amoreus the whiche folke wolde gaynsaye the pas-
sage/but whan they sawe that they conde not cheuysshe with
them by loue/they wanne by force the passage as god ordey
ned for them/Soo saye I that semblably it shulde be ryght
and reason thus for to doo in euery cas lyke/I demaunde of
the mayster/I putte cas that a baron of Fraunce/haue moe-
ued wrongfully & by hys oultrage werre ayenst a kinyght
in whiche he hath borne hym grete damages and grefues/
But for the tyme he can not fynde noo waye to haue ryght
of hym by Justyce/Neuertheles he calleth togider with hym
his frendes with a grete route of men of werre for to renne
vpon the said baron/the whiche of hys parte deffendeth him
self so well that he can not entre his lande nor domage hym
And by cause he hurteth and domageth in dede the contrays
that be next neghbours to the lande of the baron for bycause
y they be fauourable to thaide of his saide enemye so taketh
he there proyes out of all sydes and weyeth ryche therof in
so moche that he can well shewe a smoche or more than he had
afore of domage It happeth thenne that in partys they mete
bothe togider afterward/where as the sayd kinyghtsweth so
mone the said baron in the court of parlyament/ and there
he askieth hym restytucyon of the domages that he hath doon
to hym wrongfully and without a cause in the sayde werre/
To the whiche thinge that other answereth/that it ought
well to suffise hym of that whiche he hathe goten by meanes
of the same werre/ For where as byfore he was a powere
kinyght/he was becom ryche by the proyes that he had goten
and taken/ ¶ The kinyght replyeth and sayth/ that he
hathe noo thynge a doo of that that he hathe wonne
in pursuynge of hys owne and that it is nothynge of
hys/and yf he had pugnysshed hys neyghbours of the synne

that they dyde in forbeynge hym wrongfully ayenst hym/ it was not reason that theyre goodes taken and that were not his/shulde tourne to hym to the abolicyon of that that he owed hym/Soo as he I of the what of thys is to be soo/ To thys I answere the/that yf it were so that the knyght had won so muche that he had had of the goodes of the baron so moche that he had be restored/therwe it shulde suffise by right without faulte/But yf in makinge this werre he had worne and taken ought upon his neighbours by the meanes aforsaid/the whiche thinge is ryght of werre/the said baron is not therof dyscharged nor excused in no thige/but he is holden as he was byfore to suche damages and Interesses that he hathe won Unto hym by wronge hande/and well argueth the knyght of that that he saithe/For yf that other wolde saye that it appartayneth not noo duete to be payed two times therfore syn that he was ones paied it shulde suffyse/all this is noo thynge/by cause that it is not to the regarde of hym/yf he hathe worne it by waye of werre/that is for the pugnicyon of them that gaafe ayde and counseyll to the sayd baron ayenst hym

¶ Here sheweth yf a man had be wounded and sore hurt of another/the whiche is wonne alwaie after the stroke was gyuen/and he that is so hurt foldwe hym and atte laste shulde hurt hym/Whether Justyce shulde punysshe hym therfore/

¶ Item and yf a man of armes lowdeth horses and harnoys and leseth them/Whether he ought to yelde them ayen

¶ Capytulo / vij/

QAyster I remembre me that thou hast sayd here afore/that to a man in deffense is permytted to hurt another/And by cause that all hurtes and betynges that be doon by cyuyll wolke one upon other/sey and may be called the

membres dependynge of vertue / I make vnto the ſuche a queſtyon/ Yf a man haue hurt another and aſſone that he hath light his ſtroke vpon he renneth awaye as faſte as he can/but he that is hurt folowyth after tyl that he ouertake hym/and ſemblably ſtryketh and hurteth hym/ So demaunde I of the whether he that folowyth ought to be punyſſhed/ For it ſhulde ſeme by thyn owne ſayenges Nay/ſeeynge that he hathe not goon beyonde the wayes of Juſtyce/ ſyth that he was firſt hurt/thoughe he after wardes hurteth/and namely yf he had ſlayn hym by that that I vnderſtande of ryght in deffenſynge of hys body/yet ſhulde he be excuſed / & alſo he hathe won hyt without taryenge/ For yf he had taryed to the morn after I wold not ſaye that it were vengence I anſwere to this that the cas that thou ſpekeſt of/is dyffered fro Juſte deffenſe/the whiche is preuyleged / that is to wite after the lawes/For ſyth that the fyrſt fled awaye after his ſtroke/the lawe graunteth not/that the other ſhulde purſyewe hym nor hurte hym/and therfore he deſerueth punyceyon/ But trouthe it is that more grete punyſſhement hathe deſerued he that fyrſt ſtroke & hurted / And yf the ſeconde hathe deſerued grete or lytell punyceyon / amonge the maſters be therof dyuerce opynyons/Neuerthles it is noo doubte that the fyrſt moeuynge that is in hym to fele hym ſelf hurte and the haſty hete that cauſeth and chaffeth hym ſore to folowe/excuſeth hym moche/wherfore more moderatly he ought to be punyſſhed for/ But and yf he had ſlayne that other ſodaynly whan he fyrſt ſtroke hym / Juſtyce ſhulde not haue had ought to do/with ſo that he can proue that he was aſſaylled and ſtryken fyrſt/by cauſe that the lawe ſuffreth to ſlee another for ſauynge of his owne lyffe/& yf thou telle me that it may be ſoo/that he that aſſayllith fyrſt

hath noo wille for to flee/I anſwere the/that ſoo doeth not he that is aſſayllid/And alſo ſtrokes be not ſtrykyen after noo paſſion/For ſuche doeneth onely to ſtrykie that fleeth/ And therfore he that hathe the firſt ſtroke myght well tarye ſo longe are he ſtraike ayen that he ſhulde fynde hym ſelf the fyrſt ſlayne/But theese thynges not wythſtandynge for conſcience and for alle ought aman to kepe hym ſelf as nyghe as he can that he ſlee not another/ For nothynge what ſoeuere it be is more dyſpleaſaunte vnto god than for to dyſtroye hys lykie/and he is the Juge that all the thinges after right punyſſheth/nor nothinge can not be hid nor kept from hym ¶ Another ꝓpoſycyon/ A kynyght of almayne or of ſom other countrey cometh to paris where he fyndeth the kynge redy for to goo to batayllie/the ſayd kynyght that therof was not alware/had not atte that owre no manere of harneys proppre for hym ſelf/but as deſyrouſe to ſerue the kynge & to encreace hys honoure/he doethe ſo moche that ſom gentyl man that knoweth hym well leneth hym bothe horſes and harneis ſuche as pleaſeth him well/ It happeth thenne that this almayne leſeth in the batailie bothe horſes and harneis and all that he hathe and with peyne as a naked man he ſcapeth/After whiche thynge the ſaide gentyl man that had lent hym all this/aſkieth and wol haue hit ayen of him nolw is to wite after the ryght of armes/whether he is bou de to make reſtytucyon therof or not/I anſwere the that this queſtyon is in the lawes all clere ynoughe/ And this to ſhewe I ſeie not to ſhewe hit by noon other reaſon/ For I telle you of a trouthe/that ſyth the kynyght is to the batayl: le for whiche he hadd borowed the ſaid horſes and harneys/ and that he hathe not begyled that other that is to wite/ he hathe not made hym to vnderſtande one thynge for a nother

Certeynly he is not bounde to yelde them ayen/ But and yf he were goon ſom where ellis ther with all / or that he had wrolged them for to deceyue hym therof/ and that he ſhewed feynedly that he had loſte them/ and that it myght be proued other wyſe I ſhulde ſaye other wyſe/ Mayſter and yf it were ſo that he had hyred all thees thynges of certayne marchaunctes/ that is to wyte the harneys of an armurere/ and the horſes of one or of two marchaunctes / and had loſt them as it is ſayd/ ſhulde not he be bounde to yelde them ayen and to paye the hyre therof / I telle the ſemblably that nay as a boue/ in cas that noon other expreſſe couenaunce were made betwyxe hym and the marchaunctes/ that what ſo euere it happeth he ſhulde yelde the ſayde horſes and harneys vnto theym ayen/

¶ Whether ſubtylctees and polycyes of armes are goode and Juſte to be doon /

¶ Capytulo /xviij/

Another queſtyon dyfferent fro the forſayde purpoſe/ I wol aſke of the / Telle me I praye the Is it of a gode reaſon and after ryght /that a kynge or a pryncc ſhal wo ſo mocke by cawtele and ſubtyl pollycye/ that he ſhal ſubdue and come to hys aboue ouere hys enemye therby/ be it in bataille or ellis where/ For it ſhulde be aduyſed that nay cõſyderyng that rightfulnes and reaſon ought to be kepte / & it can not be noo ryght there as one deceyueth another/ and alſo euery man that hathe a Juſte quarelle / ought to haue a gode hope in god that wel it ſhall fortune with hym therof yf by peyne and dylygence he purſueth/ Therfore he that hathe a good & a ryghte wis quarelle ought to goo as me ſemeth

the ryght Ways of warre without to Vse of euyl Wyles/
Doughter and my dere loue thou sayst full Well/but nathe
les I certyfye the that after the ryght of armes/ and that
more is after god and holy scrypture/ men ought to Vayn-
quysshe hys enemye or may ouercome hym by barat/cawtel-
le and engyne Without Wronge of armes syth that the Wer-
re is Juged and notyfyed betWyx bothe partyes/ And that
truthe it is that it may be doo/oure lorde Jhesu crysste gaffe
exsample therof Whan he ordeyned and taught to/Josue how
by cawtele he shulde surpryse and ouercome hys enemyes/
And of suche thynges men are Woned to Vse and common
ly ynoughe they helpe themself in tyme of warre/but I con-
fesse and telle the Well/ that there ben certeyne maneres of
barates Whiche ben reproued and forboden/ aswell in fayt-
tes of armes/as in other caas/As yf it were/ that I sholde
assure som body for to come to me in a place Where as I shul
de be for to speke With hym/and so muche I shulde doo that
Vndre myn assuraunce he cometh there Where as I shulde
doo hym to be taken and slayne/ Suche a thynge were a
ryght euyle treason/Or ellis yf by feyned trebbes or peas
I shulde aspye my tyme for to hurte som other body that ke
peth not hym self ther fro and Wheneth to be sauffe/ and all
suche other maners of Wayes/Wherof I shulde doo euill and
grete dyshonoure and repreef shulde come to me therby/and
grete synne shulde one doo to doo soo/ And therfore the
lawe sayth/ that syth the fayth is pouen to hys ennemye/
men ought to kepe it to hym/ But another thynge ther
is yf a Valyaunt man of armes or a Wyse capytayne/ can
Well ordeyne busshementes there as hys ennuye muste pas-
se and nought is beWare therof/or alle suche other maneres
of cawteles/so that they be not ayenst feyth promysse nor

ayenſt thaſſurance that men had made/ And nought is to be ſayde the reaſon that thou ſayſt ſyth that men haue a good quarelle/Wherto I accorde me/ But holde wel that the kynge of Fraunce haue goode ryght ayenſt ſom other kyng/yet muſte he gyue helpe to ſuſteyne and bere out his goode ryght/And therme whan by wytte and dylygence men doo theyre deuoyre/they ought to haue hope in god that he ſhal helpe that the thynge ſhalbe conducted and brought to a goode endynge and perfection

¶ Whether a man of armes that were dyſtreſſed and robbed by the waye myght aſke by ryght his domages vnto hys lorde/¶ Item yf a lorde ſendeth ſom ſocours of men of weare to ſom other lorde in his werre without that he be ſoo requyred for to doo/whether the lorde to whom the ſayde men of weare be thus ſent/is holden to paye them of theyre wages or not/ ¶ Item whether men of weare may lawfully take vytalles vpon the countrey or not /

¶ Capytulo /viij

QMyſter as to oure before ſayd purpos me ſemeth by thys that ye haue concluded a fore / that is to wyte/yf a kinyght or ſom other man of armes is ſent fro ſom lorde for a garnyſon of ſom fortres without that euy couenaunte of wage be made nor noo promeſſe vnto hym / and that it happeth thys kinyght or man of armes to be robbed by the waye/may he aſke by ryght reſtytucyon of hys loſſe of the lorde that ſoo ſendeth hym &c̃/ I wyl make another queſtyon vnto the / I ſuppoſe that a capytayne of Lombardye or of ſom other countrey/as men ſom tyme haue doo com in to

Fraunce had brought wyth hym a hondred or two hondred good soudyours/and that he and hys felawshyp were retayned in to wages atte a hondred shelyng by the moneth/ and were sent vnto a certeyn place/and in hys goynge thyder he were assayled by the waye by the ennemyes where as he had lost hys penoncell hys plates and hys harneys hys pype and hys tabret/and hys felawes theyre curaces/ theyre pauoy ses and all theyre bagage I assie of the yf they myght demaunde of the kynge theyre losse and dommage/ Wythout fayle I answere the/that nay/in caas that noon other couenaunt were there but onely of theyre bare wages For the same wythout eny moo/was graunted to them/ and the same they may assie and nomore/ And yf thou wylt demaunde of me/for what reason thys capytayne hath not also grete an actyon for to demaunde of the mayster that sendeth hym/as it is sayde here byfore & cetera/ I telle the that that whyche the lawe geueth/ hathe a gretter fauour to hym that is not bounde by noo bargayne made and is putte to werk/ than hyt doeth to hym that is bounde/ And thys thou mayste see by an eysample of a man that shal haue dwelled with a marchaunt or wyth som other man a yere and a day wythout thys that he be not bounde by noo bargayne made/he may make a moche more gretter demaunde of the godys and marchaundyses of the house/wythout that ther be som certeyn excuse made by the mayster/than he that hathe hyred hym self by bargayne made/ ¶ And therfore I telle the that a man is not wel aduysed that in hys house taketh eny seruaunt to contynue wyth hym/but yf he make couenaunt wyth hym/ For the lawe presupposeth and taketh a man soo duellynge wyth another as felawe to his mayster/aswell of the getynge/as of the losse/Another

questyon I make vnto the/I putte caas that som lorde had sent for som souldyours out of a straunge contrey/ and had reteyned them in hys wages for a hole yere for to comme and socoure hym in hys warre wherin he thoughte shulde laste longe/And that it shulde happe thenne that or euere thys folke with theyr capytayne myght arryve in to the sayd lordys lande/ Holde wel that of al theyr power they had hasted them self/ he had lost all hys sayd lande/ in so muche that noo socours atte all/myght helpe hym nomore/ Wherby he had nomore nede of noo folke/I aske whether the sayd souldyours so reteyned myght aske theyre wages for the hole yere/or onely for two that day that the couenaunt was made/ For it shulde seme ye/ for thys that an aduocate of the Kynge or of som Lorde takynge a pensyon or Fee of hys mayster by the yere and that hathe bygonne to do hys offyce/ hys wages of the hole yere are due vnto hym For yf he deyed within the fyrst monethe of the yere after the Interynacyon of hys offyce hys heyre myght haue an actyon for to demaunde the hole payement of hys wages/ ¶Why thenne myght not thees folke enioye thys ryght aswell as they/ And also it may wel be that they haue lost by meane of the same as good wages of whyche they shulde haue be sure for a hole yere in som other place/ ¶And many other reasons myght be yet al playnly sayde whyche I leue for shortynge of the matyere/ ¶Fayre loue I aunswere the shortly that thees reasons and all other that thou conde saye therto are of noo value ¶For I make the sure that for content they ought to holde hem self to be onely payed for the whyche that they haue serued/ ¶And here ys the reason/ They were reteyned for

fendopeares for to kepe the lande or euere that hit was lost/
¶But syth that it is lost they can noo more serue therfore/
and thus they ought not to deserue the wages of a seruyce
wherfe they can not doo/that is to wyte to kepe a lande wher
fe is al redy loste/ ¶And the lawe byndeth noo man to a
thynge that is Impossyble/ For yf by compulsyon they
wolde be payed men myght saye vnto them/and ye shalle al
so compelled to kepe that wherfe is al redy loste/ howe can
that be doo. ¶And by thys concludeth that that is sayde/
¶Howe good mayster here me a lytel yf thou be so pleased/I as
ke of the/yf whan men of warre are taken in to wages/and
that of theyre payement be noo faulte made/ Whether it be
longeth them wyth theyre wages truly payed to take vytail
les vpon the countrey/ and to dyspoyle and take dyuerse
other thynges as they comonly doo thys day in the realme
of Fraunce/ I answere the certeynly that nay/ and that
suche a thynge is noo poynt of the ryght of warre/ ¶But it
is an evyle extorcyon and a grete violence made wrong-
fully and wyth grete synne vpon the people/ For thus
as thy self haste sayde here to fore/ that a prynce that wyl
make warre ought before hande to aduyse and see wher
fe howe hys fynaunce shal be made and taken/ and above all
thynges he ought to ordeyne so that hys folke be well payed
wherby they may truly paye that wherfe they take/be it vy-
tayle or other thynges/ ¶And then it were a Juste thynge
to punysshe wel them that wythout money shulde take eny
thynge what someuere it were/ ¶But by argumentacyon
thou myghtest ageyn saye to me/and yf cas were that the
ennemyes cam in to the lande sodaynly/wherfore it were ne
de to make a sodayne deffese or euere that the prynce myght
haue purueyed for so grete a fynaunce as muste be had for

to paye monethly a grete quantyte of mey of Ipeere/ But yf a treasore be had/ I answere the/that in al thynge that is of nede men muste helpe hem self as they can best after theyre powere/ For whan that thys caas were/the prynce shulde be ynoughe excused / yf he suffred them to take/that is to wyte al onely Victaylles necessaryly as they passed forthe for sustenaunce of theyre bodyes onely to the lest hurt vpon the poure labourers that myght be doo / and not that they shulde doo as the wolues to whom suffiseth not one shepe whan they entre in to the folde but strangley and kylle all the hole flok/ Semblably many of oure men of warre doo the same / For there as a henne or a Lambe myght suffyse them/they take and kylle/yi/ or/yij/ of them / And suche waste of goodes they make euen as they were veray wolues rauyshynge wythout conscyence as thoughe ther were noo god or that they neuer shulde deye/ Alas wel is thoo vttyrly blynded that thus doo / For more in parell of dethe they goo/than other folke/and lesse than euy other men they take hede therto

¶ What men ought to doo with the proyes that be goten in warre/

¶ Capitulo/xB

Another maner of questyon I wyl to the make / I aske of the what men ought for to doo wyth the thynges that be wonnen vpon the ennemyes in batayle / Here loue to thys questyon bihoueth to be answered by dystyncte- tyon of cases / For fyrst after the cyuyle lawe/is to be vnderstande of what astate and condycyon the prsone is that

hathe conquered a thynge by fayte of warre/And there is a question to vnderstand in what cases & in what warres these lawes haue place/ For yf a warre be made by mau: dement or calling of the kynge or prynce/that hath power to dreyne and sette vp a Juste warre/ som lawes be refer: red to suche a lorde/and not to other folke/ that is to wyte that all the getynge ought to goo atte the wylle of the pri: ce or of the lyeutenaunt or hed cappetayne / For syth that the men of warre are atte the wages of the kynge or prin ce what someuere they take be it prysoners or other proye oughte be to the lorde after the lawes/ And auncyently it was wonen to be thus woon/ What that of grace in tyme present by longue custome in Fraunce and in other landes is lefte to the men of armes that whyche they conquere and gete/yf the thynge that they conquere be not of so grete a po ys that it passeth the pryce and Somme of ten thousaunde frankys/the whyche thynge be it a prysoner or other good moeuable is yolden vnto the kynge or prynce / by al thus/ that he is holden to gyue to the sayd may of armes that ha th goten hit what so euere he be /the sayde pryce of/x/ thou: saund Frances/ And suche a thynge is a gode custome in a lande/ But the forsayde lawe affermeth the contrare that sayth playnly that al the proye ought to be after the prin: ces wylle/ And ought to departe it iustely amonge them that haue holpen to gete hyt euery may after hys mery: te/ And that thys thynge be of a trouthe/noo may myght not susteine the contrarye / For the same is approued by the ryght Briton ỹ namely assygneth therto suche a reason that is to wyte / that yf it were soo that the prysonners or proyes shulde be to the may of warre/ all thus and by the sa

me reason shulde be theyrs the castelles and tollones that they take /the whyche thynge were neyther good nor Juste that they wyth the money of the kynge or prynce and had at hys expenses shulde gete for theyre owne behoue euy gwunde/ For that whiche they doo is doon/as of the kynges owne werk men that be sette alwerke for hym and in his name / therfore ought not the proye to be theyrs wyth theyre wages/but onely thys that the prynce/ whyl gyf - them of a specyall grace the whiche grace to saye trouthe wel and largely hit behoueth them/as to them that setten in aduẽture sodere a catell/as is the blode the lymes and the lyffe/ And the more that a prynce is hygher in the degre of noblesse / so moche more he ought to rewarde theym that wel haue deserued it / ¶ And of the proyes woonnen in erthe the noble and worthy auncyent kept nothyng therof for theyre owne self/but onely hyt suffysed them to haue the name and the worshyp of the dede doon by theyre men whyche had the proffyt therof / And by suche alwaye they gate the hertes and loue of theyre men of werre / that they brought attr a gode ende theyre grete and merueyllouse entreprise/

¶ Begynneth to speke of prysonners of werre/ and howe a myghty man taken in werre ought to be yolden vnto the prynce/and howe not/

¶ Capytulo /yB

AND by cause I haue tolde the here by forr / That after the forsayd lawe / is to be knowen/ of what condycyon is the personne that hathe conquesed som what in armes/ Wherof I haue declared to ỹ one partr/ Now we suppose

the other wyse / that is to wyte that a baron made werre
ayenst another baron / were hys quarell Juste or not / or that
he ne wolde deffende hys lande soo sone other / For why aswell to
deffende hym self and to kepe hys lande what that the cause
be / It behoueth hym to Juge a iuste werre / as whan he enuay
hyssheth / And yf it hap therme that hys baron that so def-
fendeth hym self / taketh that other that enuahyssheth hym /
shuldest thou / aye that he were hys owne prysoner / I certys
nye the that nay / nor noon other ryght he shulde haue vpon
hym by the lawe / but onely to holde and kepe hys persone sus
re vnto the tyme that he shulde presente hym to the lorde so-
uerayne of whom he sholde holde the baronnye whyche shulde
gyue vpon hym hys Jugement / but another inspecte may
be herupon / that is to wyte / that yf he that taketh hym be su-
che a man that he haue souerayne Justyce in hys owne han
de / or ellis that he haue the powere to doo Justyce vpon the
mysdoers / and hathe custome to do therof as the veray lor
de / as ben many lordships that haue suche auctorite / I telle
the that syth that he fendeth hym renneyng ouer the lande
robbyng and sleeynge hys men / that he by hys Justyce may
punysshe hym yet supposed that he were a gretter lorde in de-
gree than hym self / ¶ Not withstandynge that men
myght make an arguement vpon thys caas / that a man
may not nor ought not to be Juge in hys owne propre
cause / I say that he may doo soo / and by two reasons / that
one by vertue of his Jurisdyccyon whiche is to punysshe
and doo Justyce of the mysdoers / and that other that he
punysshyth the delicte of hym that maketh hit vpon the
propre place / wherof he hathe auctorite of the lawe to do
soo / For yf a man assayllyth another and thynkyth to hur
te hym / he that is so assailed may doo to that other that

that he wolde had doon to hym/and I telle the that it is attemperaūce of a reasonable deffence/but I confesse well that yf he that so is assailed and that had noo Jurysdyccyon nor auctorite to do so/shulde punysshe of his owne hed/hys auersarye vndre the title of Justyce/or that shulde kepe hym in prysoñ/he shulde doo wronge to his soverayn lorde/and shulde putte hym self in parell to lese that that he holdeth of hym/therfore he ought to yelde hym soone to the said soverayne lorde/ For namely it were lawfull to a man of the chyrche in suche a caas for to recouere his thynges ayen/

¶ Whether men ought to doo depe a chyef capytayne of an oste takyen in fayttes of werre/or ellis yf he ought to be for the prynce/And whether it is a thynge lawfull and that concerneth the ryght worlyon for to make a man to paye euyraunson for hys delyueraunce/ ¶ Capitulo/xbij/

QAyster syth that we ben entred in to purpos of prysoners takyen by by fayttes of werre/I aske the/yf it happe the hed captayne to be takyen or som highe man that hathe sore lettred & doon grete hurt and yet myght doo to that partye that hath takyen hym yf he escaped/ Yf by the lawe and ryght men myght putte hym to dethe/ For by the lawe of nature hyt shulde appere that ye where as it is twouthe/that al thinge awaiteth to distroye his contrarye/Certes dere loue I answere the that what especyally the lawe cyuyle sayth/ that he that is takyen in bataylle is in thraldome as a sclaue or seruaunt that taketh hym/he ought not to be slayne/ For why the decree affermeth hyt sayenge/ that syth at a man is in prysoñ mercy is due to hym/ Thenne thus yf mysdede is due to hym/howe myght he be putte to dethe wythout that Iniurye were doon to hym/ ¶ And yet more

haue I ſhall telle the / Another reaſe there is that ſaythe/ that ſyth that a man hathe ouercome another/ he is holden to pardonne hym/ſpecyally his lyffe / Soo ſaye I to the Well that it is ayenſt all ryght and gentylneſſe to ſlee hym that yeldeth hym/And I telle the that the parentes and frendes myght purſue therfore as for Wronge doon/but yf it were ſo that the prynce ſhulde kepe hym towardys hym and take hym fro the handes of hym that had taken hym/ and by a gode and Juſte cauſe yf he had Well deſerued it /and that he by hys counſeyll kneWe that a grete euyll and hurt myght come to hym and to hys lande yf he let hym goo free / ſhulde make hym to deye/ For in other maner of Wyſe it Were a thynge Inhumayne and to grete a cruelnes / And yf thou ſay to me that auncyently they had a lawe that they myght make there pryſoners to deye yf it pleaſed them/or ſelle them to Whom they Wolde/or make hem to labour in theyre ſeruyſe/ &c/ I anſwere the that amonge cryſten folke Where the the lawe is altogyder grounded Upon myldefulnes and pyte is not kepte nor accordynge to Vſe of ſuche tyrannye Wherfore ſhe be acurſed and reproued/ Nowe I make the other queſtyons to knowe Where a pryſoner ought to be or to Whom or to the lorde/or to hym that hathe taken hym / For me ſemeth that ye haue ſayde here byfore/that one lawe there is that Wytneſſeth/that a pryſoner is in the Wylle of hym that taketh hym/and ſyth that he is atte hys Wylle / hyt ſemeth therfore that he ſhulde be hys owne / ¶ Fayre ſone it ſemeth that thou haſt forgoten that that I haue tolde the a fore / Soo ſaye I yet Unto the ageine/that Verily there ben many opynions of dyuerſe maiſters / ¶ Pro and contra in this caas here/ ¶ Neuertheles it is concluded that al pryſes and proyes / as alredy I haue

tolde the ought to se atte Veille of the prynce Vhom appar-
teyneth to dystrybute them after discreccyon/ Wel J vnder-
stande the maister/now telle me/that syth that ve exysten
men atte thys day haue lefte the auncyent lawes to putte
in thraldom or to slee the prysoneres/ J aske of the yf Justly
men may demaunde of a prysoner a fynaunce of geld or of
syluer or of som other moeuable goodis after this that men
vsen comonly in fayette of werre/ For yf J remembre me
well/ thou hast sayde here byfore/ that to a prysoner is myl-
defulnes due of ryght vnto hym/ and me semeth that sith it
is due to hym after ryght/ men doo hym vronge thenne to
make hym paye reanson vhere as men doo to hym noo mise
ricorde/ J telle the yet and ansuere vpon a nelve that verily
is myldefulnes due vnto hym in tlvo maners / that is to
vyte/ that the lawe ought to be respited to hym/ and the lyf
saued / and more harde J telle the that the mayster is hol-
den of ryght and bounde to helpe his prysoner aienst another
that volde offense hym/ ¶ Item vith this is myldefulnes
due to hym in suche a manere that yf it vere possyble that
a man of armes had al that he is vorthe vpon hym atte
that olvre that he is taken altogider may be to the mayster
that taketh hym vithout that he shelve hym fauour and doo
to hym myserycorde/ But of ryght vryton he ought to be myl-
defull vnto hym so that in takyng of his prysoner reanson
vhyche is permytted in ryght of armes/ by especyall of one
natyon ayenst another vhan they doo vere togyder as
englysshe men and frenshe men and other in lyke vyse/
ought to be taken hede that the reanson be not so cruell that
the man be not vndoo therby & his vyffe & children distroied
and brought to pouerte/ Other vise it is tirannye/ ayenst cō
science & aienst al ryght of armes/ For it appartyneth not

that a gentylman ſhulde legge hys lorde after the payemẽt made for hys reanſon but ought to be lefte hym wherof he may lyue/kepyng his eſtate/And wel ought to be prayſed the vſage of ytalye/in whiche werres whan a man of armes is taken/he comonly keſeth but onely his horſes & harneys/So nedeth hym not to ſelle his lyflode nor to deſheryte hym ſelf for to paye his reanſon/ Thus mayſt thou ſee in what manere is reanſon couenable Juſte and good after the ryght of armes whiche is permytted/But for to putte a man in an euyll pryſon and conſtrayne by tormentynges to paye more then hys power may bere it is an horrible horrour and the dede of a cruel cryſten tyraunt werſe than a Jewe/And wote thou for certeyn that that whiche he hath be ſuche wayes of hys pryſoner it is ryght euyll goten/and he is bounde to yelde it ayen or ellis it is hys dãpnacyon/Soo kepe hym ſelf there fro euery man

¶Whether it is of ryght that men may take vpon the enemyes londe/the poure laborers/ ¶Capitulo/xviij/

Aſke the whan a kynge or a prynce hathe werre ayenſt another though that it be Juſte/whether he may by ryght ouer renne the contrey of his enemye takynge all manere of folke pryſoners/that is to wite them of the comyn poure peple as ben laborers/ſhepardes and ſuche folke/& it ſhulde ſeme that nay/ For what reaſon ought they to be in the penaunce of that that they medle not hem ſelf/where as they can not the crafte of armes/nor it is not theyre office/nor they be not called for to iuge of werres/& alſo werres comen not by ſuche poure folke/ but they be full ſory for it/as they that full fayne wolde alwayes lyue in gode peas nor they aſke no more/So ought they thẽne as me ſemeth to be free therof/lyke that of ryght ben preſtes relygyeuſe &

all folie of the chyrche / by cause that theyre a state is not to entremette hem self of warre / And wyth thys what worshyp may thys be nor what pryce of armes for to slee & reuine vpon them that neuere bare harneys nor coude not help hym self wyth all/and that haue noon other offyce/but poure Innocentes to goo to plought and laboure the lande and to kepe the bestes/ To thys I answere the supposyng in thys manere/ We putte caas that the people of Englande wolde make no manere of helpe to theyre kynge for to greue the kynge of Fraunce/ and that the Frenshe men went vpon them /wythout faylle by rygght and treason and after the lawe they ought not to hurte nor misdoo nother in body nor in goodes of the people nor of them that they shulde knowe that had not medled them self in nothynge to helpe nother by theyre goodes nor by theyre counseyll theyre kynge/But and yf it be so that the subgectes of the same kynge or of som other in semblable a caas be it ryche or poure laborers or other gyue ayde comfort and fauoure for to maynteyn the warre/the Frenshmen after the right of armes may ouer renne theire lande and take al that they fynde/that is to wyte prysoners of all states/and al thynges and be not bounde for to yelde them ayen For I telle the/that suche right is determyned rygght of warre / Juged by bothe kynges or prynces counseyll theyre men of warre may gete the one vpon the other/And yf som tyme the poure and symple thoughe they arme not hem self doo a bye the bargeyne and be sore hurt therby/it can not be other wyse/For the euyll herbes can not be had out from emonge the goode by cause they be so myghe eche other wythout that the gode herbes haue a felyng therof /But to beholde rygght well it is true that the Baliaunt and gentylmen of armes ought to kepe hem self as

moche as they can that they dystroye not the goode symple folke nor to suffre that theyer folke shal Inhumanely hurt them / For they ben cristen / and not sarazyns / Sholde yf I haue sayde that myserycorde is due vnto the one / knowe thou that not lesse it is due to the other / Soo ought they to hurt them that leedeth the werre / and spare the symple and prasyble of all theyre puyssaunce /

¶ Whether a englisshe scoler or of sony other enemyes lande were soudde studyeng atte the scoles in parys myght be taken prysoner or not / ¶ Capitulo / xxij /

But syth that we ben entred in matere of pryssoners of werre I wyl that thou Juge they self after thyn aduysse / of suche a debat whyche by an eyssample I shal propose vn to the / Nolo knowest thou al ynoughe how the kynge of Fraunce and the kynge of England haue comonly werre one ayenst an other / I putte the caas that a scolar ben ey; at atte Cambrygge in Englande is com to the vnyuersyte of parys for to be there graduate or enhaunced in the degree of doctour of dyuynyte or in other faculte / Wher it happeth that a man of armes of Fraunce knoweth by other that thys scoler is an englisshman borne / and taketh hym as his pryssoner / to the whyche pryse the sayde scoler sayth ayenst & therto opposeth hym self / so ferforth is the thynge brought that byfore the Justyce cometh the questyon / to the whyche debat / the Englysshman that in ryght sowonded hys reason sayth that he hathe a caas expert of the lawe that doeth for hym self / for cause of the grete preuylleges that the scolers haue there / and hyt deffendeth that noo greef nor displea; syre be doon to them / but honoure and reuerence / And here as the reason he sayethe that the lawe assygneth / Who shulde

he he ſayth the lawe that ſhulde not haue ſcolers for wynne
unded vehicle for to kinowe and acquyre cõpyng haue lefte
and layde aſyde ryches/delicates & al eaſes of body / theyre
carnall frendes and theyre countrey/and haue taken the aſ
tate of pouerte/and as banyſhed from al other goodes/haue
forſaken the worlde and al other pleaſirs for loue of ſcyence
So ſhulde he be vel full of all vnkyndnes that ſhulde do
euy euyll to them / To thees reaſons the may of armes re Nota
plycqueth thus ſayng/Wother I telle the that emonge vs
we frenſhmen make noo force of the empewours lawes to
whom we be not ſubgect/ſo owe not we to obeye them/ The
ſcoler anſwereth/Lawes ben noon other thynges but veray
reaſons that were ordeyned after wyſedome / and yf therof
ye do make noo force/it is not ſayde therfore that the kynge
& lordes of Fraũce ſhal not vſe of reaſon & of thynges that
ben reaſonable and of that that they hym ſelf haue ordeyned
For Charlemayne renewed the generall ſcole of rome by the Nota
popis voylle to parys/they gaffe grete & notable preuyleges
to the ſame ſcole/And therfore ſent the kynge to fetche ma
ſters out of all partyes and ſcolers of all maner of langa
ges and all them he compryſed in the ſayde preuylege/ And
wherfore thenne ſhal not they mowe come from all partyes
whan they haue licence of the kynge/ where as al thynges
at theyre fyrſt comynge wo ſwere that they ſhall kepe the ſai
de preuyleges/In the name of god ſayde the may of armes
ſuppoſed that that ye ſaie/ye ought to wite that ſethen that
a generall were was cryed & proclamed betwyx oure kyn
ge and youres/noon englyſhemen ought to come within the
realme of Fraũce for ſuche a cauſe nor for noon other what
ſomeuere it be/without a gode ſaufconduyte/& the reaſon is
goode/ For why ye myght vnder colour of the ſcole write &

vnderstande in youre contrey holde it is here and the asca
se of thys lande/and other dyuers secret cuylles ye myght
doo here yf ye holde/wherfore it is not treason that noo ma;
nere of preuylege shulde tourne in to preiudyce of the kynge
nor of hys royalme Thees treasons harde/saye thou my loue
nolde what thou therupon thinkiest/wythout fayll mayster
syth that it pleaseth the/that my lytel and sobre aduyse shall
serue in thy behalfe/I telle the/that yf it be so and wythout
fraude/that he of whom thou spekiest be a true scoler/ that is
to saye/that he were not come vndre fyction to lerne comun
ge/for to aspye or to doo som other cuyll / I holde hys cause
for goode and that he ought not to be take prysonner /prouy
ded al wayes/but yf the kynge had made to be cryed by hys
maundement especyall that noon englishman what someue
re he were shulde not come to studye in hys royalme / Thou
hast ryghtwelt Juged and wysely dystynged /For namely
yf the bysshoprych of parys were wythout a bysshop of elles
thareche bysshoprych of roen or of sens or of other of the sayd
royalme/and that an englysheman were therunto elected &
chosen/ the kynge by rayson may gaynsaye to the same/For
wherfore the rayson is suche/that it is not expedient nor behoful
to the kynge nor to the royalme for to hane there hys enne;
myes resydent/ But yet ansuere me to thys/supposed that
the scoler ought not to be taken there prysoner/ what shal
thou saye to me of hys seruauntes yf he brynge one or two
or more wyth hym out of englande/For the preuylege that
scolers haue in parys was not gyuen for theyre seruauntes
In gode feith mayster vndre thy correction not wythstandyng
thys reason/me semeth that vndre the preuylege of the mai
ster whiche is a true scoler as it is sayde ought to be cõprised
hys seruauntes/ryght soo as in the sauegarde that the kinge

gyueth to hys offyciers he comprysed theyre seruauntes and all theyre famylle or meyne/ ¶But of the mayster I wol as he one thynge/I putte cas that the sayde scoler were taken with a sylynes/myght of ryght hys fader come to vysyte & see hym without parell/ To thys I answere the/that after ryght worytou/but yf he cam there for falshed as it is sayde/ he myght aad ought to come sauffe there/ For why ỹ reason is suche/that more grete is the ryght of nature than is the ryght of were/Soo is the loue of the fader and of the moder to theyre sone so muche prerupleged/that noo ryght of armes may not surmounte the same/ And yet more harde I telle the/that yf the fader went for to see and vysite his childe beynge in gode helthe studyeng at the scoles within parys or where so euere it were/for to bere hym other vitaylles or syluere/he ought not to be arrested nor taken for the same of what so euer countrey frende or foo that he were of And thys sentence is determyned in the lawe lyke as I saye and semblably ought not to be areched nor letted the brother/the kynnesman nor the seruaũt that syluer or vitayles shulde bringe hym/but I presuppose al wayes reserued the clauses above sayde/For it is all by vertue of the preuyleges that scolers haue in generall scoles as is paris and other/

¶Whether a grete lorde of englande that fortunably were founde in a forest al one as made & out of hys witte/might of ryght be taken and putte to raunson ¶Capitulo/xxj/

Another questyon I make to the swete mayster/I suppose that a duke or an erle departeth out of england and cometh in to fraunce with hys folke for to were ayenst the kynge there/whyche duk or erle happeth by aduenture to voey made/so that al alone as a fole he gothe venuinge by wodes and hedges where as he is founde by frenshmen

of armes/ he by a iuste quarelle may be well putte to raunson ¶ If it happed that sony ambassatours cam toward ys the kynge of Fraunce/ and as they passed by Bordeaux shuld be take and hyre there of englyshmen horses and cartes for to carye theyre bagage/ Whether theis thynges so hyred myght be arrested within Fraunce or not/ ¶ Item whether an englysh preest myght be empryssoned in Fraūce or not

Capytulo / xxij

Maister I wyll putte to the another question/ I suppose the kynge of Scotlande sendeth his ambassatours in to Fraunce/ the whiche comen and take lāde atte Bordeaux or atte bayōne in whiche place they hyre horses mules cartes and other thynges that they nede/ & goo to parys with all and happeth by aduenture that they be mett by the waye of a capytayne frenshman/ the whiche as he is well informed that the sayde horses mules & cartes be longynge to englisshemen and not to the sayde ambassatours/ arrested and taketh them/ and saith that where theis thinges be of the kynges enemyes they shal abyde as his owne/ and that by the right of armes he may wythholde them as that he hathe truly conquested and gotten/ Now telle me mayster yf of right they ought to abyde hys or not/ I telle the that of right Boryton the ambassatours or legates haue a preuylege al about where they goo that they and theyre thynges shal be sure and sauffe/ & sith that they goo to the kynge it appertayneth not to noon of his men to lette nor trouble them/ & who is he that more gretly is preuyleged than a basssatoure/ for yf he were bounde to a marchaunt of Fraunce in a grete some of money/ he can not compelle hym to paye hym hys money for the tyme durynge of hys legacyon/ ¶ For right sufferth not to constrayne the Legate of a prynce or

yf I helde thēne a foo mortall of myn within my power in
what maner that euere it were/ whiche hapli after he were
goon fro me shulde kylle me / or atte the lest shulde hurt me
right sore yf he myght & wel I woote that with al his power
he shulde force him self so to doo/ shulde thenne he wisedome or
witte within me to late hym goo thus freely from me Fay
re loue to thys I answere vnto the/ that this man of whom
I spekie vnto the supposed that he be thyn enemye in the for-
sayd cas thou shuldest not awayte for to kepe hym but one
ly for to haue syluer of hym by waye of raunson/ and whan
the money were payed whiche without reason thou hast re
ceyued holy mocke more shuldest thou be thenne assured of
hym/ than thou were by fore certes of nothing/ & this sekieth
nor wol not the ryght of armes that men shall doo wrōge
one partye to an other/ but all noble men ought to kepe in
this byhalue the ryght of other that durste aske & require to
haue hit/ Soo telle I to the yet that the worste that to thys
man myght be doon/ it is that men shulde make hym to swe
re that he neuermore shulde arme hym self aienst the kinge of
Fraūce/ & in cas that men myght not brynge hym to this &
that the man of armes/ or the towne/ or the countrey that kie
peth hym/ shulde drede lest they shulde be reproued yf they yet
suffred hym goo free/ by cause he were so grete a man that he
might yet greue or hurt full sore the royalme/ ꝑ surest waye
for them were so to discharge themself withall/ ꝑ they shul-
de yelde hym to the prynce whiche shulde doo of hym that whi
che were best to be doon by thaduyse of his good counseyll/ &
al waies to thende that thou wel shall vnderstande/ that I
telle the of the frenshman to the englishman I mene sem-
blably of the englishman to the Frenshman/

¶ Yf it happe that vpon the frontieres of Caleys be taken

ſom olde man engliſſhe bourgeyes or other of the ſaid tolbone
that neuere medled with warre wether by ryght of the lawe
of armes/ ought ſuche a man to paye raunſon or not/ and in
lyke wyſe a lytel chyld or of a blynd man ¶ yes/
¶ Putte cas that ſom frenſſhe knyght O thou maiſter be
poynted in armes tolbardeis the frontieres of caleis or
of Bordeaux/ & it happed that a bourgeys ſore olde/ a man
of the ſaid bordeaux or caleis be by aduenture come out for to
ſeke his meſſe or for ſom other auo vpon the frenſſhe grounde
& where ſoone the ſaid knyght taketh hym & ſaythe that he
ſhall be his pryſoner but that other anſwereth that it is not
right/ For in the kynge of englandes warres he neuere ar-
med him ſelf nor neuere went agenſt the kynge of Fraūce
nor neuer gyrded ſwerde nor gaff noo counſeill / but hathe
alwayes be ſory for the warre which al weyes of all his
power hathe diſcouſeylled/ & that ſhal be proued for a truth
the & with this ſaithe he I telle you that an olde man as I am
that is not ſhapen to warre nor bere armes nor harneis ought
not of ryght to be kepte in priſon/ſoo ye may not nor ought
not to take nother the goodes nor the pryſoners of them y
entremete not withe the warre/ but yf it were that they gaffe
helpe & fauoure to mayntein y warre agenſt the kynge of fra
unce of theire free & goode will/ for yf by force it were yet
ſhulde they be excuſed after ryght/ but of all this neither by
force nor for loue I haue doon nothinge & all this I wyl pre
ue true/ſoo demaūde I of the maiſter yf a man may in ſuche
a cas be kepte in priſon after the ryght of armes/ I telle the
as afore that verily nay in cas that the ſaide excuſe myght
be ſuffiſauātly proued/ but & it were ſoo that he had gyuen or
gaffe pertynent couſeill to the warre in what ſoeuer manere
that it were as many an olde man doth that by his cōſeill
doth muche more therto/ than other yong men doo by theire

armes/Nowe wel maister another maner alwaie I will spek
telle me thẽne/& a frenshmen had taken a litell childe of
an englishman/might he aslie by ryght any raũson for hym
for it shulde seme ye/seen that he that may wel make the mo
re grete a thinge/may wel make the smalleste / as what to
saye he myght wel take prysoner the fader yf the cas befell
Why not the childe aswell / for he might wel take the
faders goodes and the childe as himself Saithe is compriseo
for the faders goodis/ I telle the certeynly that after right
the litel child may nor ought not to be kept prysoner/ for re
ason will not accorde/that innocencye be agreued for it is be
ray trouthe that a childe in suche a cas is innocẽt & not cou
pable of all werre in al manere of thiges/Wherfore he ought
not to bere the peyne of that Wherof he is not in fallode nor
of counseill nor of goodes he hathe nought holpen therto for
he hathe as yet noon Ye maister/but supposed that the said
child were ryche of hym self as of his fader & moders godes
that he dede/moofe he paye/For it might be soo that his tu
toures or they that haue the rule ouer his goodis shulde pa
ye a subsydye of hys goodes to the kynge of Englande for
to mayntein his werre in Fraunce/Yet I telle the that nay/
for what that his tutoures paied therof it were not of ỹ chil
des Wille Which is not yet in age of discrecion/Without fa
ille maister thẽne is not this daye this lawe wel kepte/thou
saist to me trouthe fayre loue/nor yet be nomore kept nother
the noble ryghtes of olde tyme that helde and truly dyde kee
pe the noble conquerours/Thus abusen With the right of
armes they that nolde doo exercise them by ỹ grete coueityf
se that ouercometh them/soo ought to tourne them to a gre
te shame for to ẽprisone Wymen or children & impotent &
olde/& thys custome that they haue brought vp ought to be

[illegible] to their great dishonour & blame/lyke as otherwhyle
[illegible] doon dayngerly wherin yᵉ royalme of Fraūce whyle
[illegible] as longe as fortune was for them they sparyd nother
ladies nor damoyselles greate nor lytel whan they tokie
the fortresses but they were all putte to raunson as many as
were founde there/whyche is a greate shame to them for to ta
ke that whyche cam not auenge hem self/& ought wel to haue
suffised them for to haue takie the raisyne of the fortres and
that the ladies had good quyte/ But that that to them is
happed atte the last may al ynouche & ought to be ensample
to al other wayrpours for to deale other wyse/for be ye myser
tayne that noȝ good euyl goten can not be longe possessed
noȝ kept of hym that getteth hit noȝ of his heyres Now late
vs see of another debat/yf a blynde man happe to be takien of
a man of armes/ought he so kepe pryson/I telle the that yf
a blynde man shulde putte hym self to be a man of armes
theughe his folye/& happeth to be takien/ he is worthy to ha;
ue worse than another & this I may proue by the holy scrip
ture where it is spoken howe Cayn slewe Abel his brother
and howe a blynde man that was called Lameth tokie a bo;
we/& went shotynge by wodes & hedges huntynge the woyld
bestes/and by aduenture his arowe lighte vpon cayn and
slewe hym/wherof god saide that the synne of Cayn shulde
be punysshed seuen tymes /But the synne of Lameth shul
de be punysshed /lxxvij/ tymes / Wherby it appereth that
for to putte hym self to an office in whyche he be not suffy;
sant/it is a souerayne folye/But yf a simple blinde man wer
re takien pyte were due vnto hym/and yf he were suche that
he before tyme had seen/ And was a man of armes ayn the
were/and so gaffe counseyll to the enemyes to do batayle
or to scale a place or that aduysed them of som other cautele

that wel knowe hym/ I aske whether he ought to be kepte in pryson/ For it shulde seme/ ye/ seeyng that the entent of his comyng was for to werre ayenst the kynge there and for to hurte the royalme/ To this I answere the that we fynde in the ryght writon that a madde man duryng his foulwode may not be reputed nor taken for enempe / for he hathe non arbytre of free wylle wherer reason cannot werke wherfore thêne yf he slewe a/c/mon he shulde not be punysshed therfore by iustice nor taken for hompeyde/ & suche a man cannother pelde nor gyue feythe to paye eny raunson/ who shall he then ne be prysoner/ And to putte in pryson a man that namely is seyed wyth suche a maladie what a Valyaūtnes were it certes it were grete synne/ & rather euery noble man shulde peyne him self after hys powere to admynistre vnto him hel the of witte & aduyse/ Soo telle I to the that he can not nor ought not by ryght to be kepte in pryson nor paye noo raun son/ but ought to be yolden ageyn to his frendes/ & more yet I telle the/ We putte caas that he keynge in pryson shulde gwaryssh there of his sykines / yet ought he not to be kept nor paie noo maner of raūson/ ỹ cause why is bycause that whan he was taken he had nother witte nor power for to deffende hym/ of the whiche for to Juge rightewisly of armes noo man ought to be taken prysoner/ but that he first peldeth him self by woorde of hys owne mouthe or ellis by som signe but how shulde he doo this/ for as ỹ lawe saithe / suche a man can not make noo testament nor mary himself nor entre in to religyon / the whiche thinges requyren free wille / nor namely he may not receyue baptesme yf he were not baptyzed whiche is neuer gyuen vnto man / but yf he requyreth hit with his free wille & therfore there is noo cause why he shul de be kept prysoner/ holde thêne maister ỹ telleste me merueylle

ſom place nat alle/but of ſuche thynges as he had taken by
the weye/ And namely ſeynge that they neded to take hor
ſes and cariage for to leed them ſelf and theyre fardellage as
that ſeilded or other lettynge myght come by the weye / or
as it may wel be/for to bringe certayn preſentes to the kyn
ge/they ought to goo bothe them ſelf and theyre thynges
fauffe/But it myght wel be that ſom colour of debate may
be hoof in caas that without ſeray nede they had brought
with them ſom englyſhmen for to gyue hem ſporde and
that horſes or other thynges were in the cõpanye longyng
to them/For of ſuche auctorite they myght bringe in to fra
unce the enemyes of the royalme/ſo were it not therme dyſ:
cuted without cauſe/ For to knowe yet more I beſeche the
mayſter that thou wyl telle me yf frenſhemen myght by
ryght take a preſte of englande pryſoner / & aſwel engliſh
men a preeſt of fraunce/be it other byſſhop/or abbot or man
of relygyon/Fayre lone by that that dyuerſe tymes I haue
al ynough concluded may thy demaunde be ſoylled/ that is
to wyte that we ſaye after ryght wrytyng/ that thoffyce of
men of the chyrche ſeparted from al werre/for the ſeruyſe of
god in whiche they be occupied or ought to be maketh them
vnable to bere armes nor what ſomeuer harneis of tem
porall batailke/& belonged to them in nothyng/for noon of:
fice appartayneth to them but for to abſoyle the ſinnes & to
bringe ayen in to the right waie they that walke here wrõg
& to adminiſtre ỹ ſacremẽtes nor namely for to deffẽde them
ſelf beſoueth hem not after ỹ decree but ſwete wordes & hem
gynte/ Goo were it thenne wel a harde thynge that they ſhul
de bere penaunce of that that they ought to be Innocent of/ &
yf thou wold ſaye to me/ Ye but they helpe the kynge of en
glande of theyre reuenues & rentes for to mayntene the werre

or namely of theyre counseyll/ I answere the that they ought not to doo soo/ nor they be not holden therunto/ For it appartayneth not to noo man of the chyrche to gyue neo counseyll that concerneth the warre/ but it is theyre office for to sette alwayes peas amonge crystey prple/ And yf it happed that theyre kynge toke of theyre goodes by force for to goo to hys warres/ I saye that they can not doo therto/ And that they ought not therfore to paye noo raunson nother to be taken nor kepte as enemyes of nother partye/ But other wyse it is/ yf it hap that som chapellayn or other of the chyrche goo to warre or that ingereth or putteth hym self forthe by eny maner of waye therto/ yf he were taken suche a man wythout faulte ought not to be spared but that al rygoure of rudnesse be doon to hym/ were he a prelat or other as to the fayt of the payement of raunson/ And shulde saye that suche a man were had to the porte that wel shulde punysshe hym/ but other wyse to put in pryson men of the chyrche/ it is to dyscouenable a thyng and out of all ryght

¶ Whether a prysonner of warre may departe hens after he is shet vp and not mysdoo anempst hys maister/

Capytulo /xxiij/

NOw wil I make the another demaũde that of the precedent as of a prysonner of warre alynoughe dependeth I putte caas that a kynyght hath taken in warre his ennemye/ and hath putte hym in a castel or in to som other pryson/ I aske the yf the prysonner seeth tyme and place for to escape awaye by cawtelle or subtylte/ Whether he may do thys lawfully after the ryght of warre/ for I make doubte that he may for many raysons/ fyrst/ bicause he hathe taken hym his feyth/ soo may not he goo awaye without he must be forsworne wherfore ys a thyng that the lawe can not graũte that a

man shall forswere hym self/ y other is/ that right Wil not that men shal not doo to other/ otherwyse than they Wold be doon Vnto/ and thys man Wolde not that hys prysonner yf he had eny shulde paye hym soo/ and thus doyng he dooth trespas ayenst thys Lalwe/ that other is that he is lyke hys seruaunt and in hys mercy Vnto tyme that he haue acquyted hym self of hys raunson/ Thenne thus he mysdoeth as me semeth in as moche that he taketh hym self from hym as hys owne pure and propre gode/ Whiche can not be doo Without mesprise/ Nowe sayst Ione to thys I shal answere the for that other partye/ and moche is here to see to/ For herof behoueth to be determyned after the circumstances/ I telle the that man may saye for that other that he had in thys no thynge trespassed/ For he hathe doon after the lawe of nature Whyche gyueth to al maners of personne a right to be in lyberte/ Item Whan he gaaf hys feyth it Was by force and by compulsyon doon/ And the lawe compelled not to kepe a promesse made of force/ and other reasons myght be sayde/ But as to the right of armes Whyche is permytted by all lawe/ al that maketh but lytel/ For to the right for to goo I telle the that Whan a man is taken and gyueth his feith to kepe pryson Wythout fayle he can not departe Whan but he Wyl trespasse bothe ayenst god and the Worlde Wyth out he take leue of hys mayster / ye som cas reserued that must be Well Understande/ That is to Wyte that the sayde mayster doo not to hym noon other ebyl nor hurt than to put hym in a couenable pryso/ as right hath lymyted & Wil But I accorde Wyth the Wel/ yf he Were kept soo strayt: ly and soo euyll delt Wyth all that hys lyff or helthe Were putte in Jeopardye therby/ and that Inhumayne or cruel: le a thyng it Were/ I afferme Vnto the that yf he can fyn:

the meanes for to escape awaye that a right grete wyte it wer / nor for noo trespas it ought not to be taken / or elles also yf the master were vntreatable and that wolde not take noo reasonable raunson after the power of hys prysonner / and had proffered hyt vnto hym dyuerse tymes /

¶ Item also and yf the mayster were soo cruell that he wer wont to doo deye or tormente or make hys prysonners to langwysshe in pryson / or suche other cruelties that doon ayenst the lawe of gentylnesse / he that suche a man holdeth is not bounde to kepe hym promesse nor feyth yf by eny waye he may escape / For suche a feyth to gyue is to be vnderstande that lytle as the mayster is lorde of the prysonner by right of armes / he in lykewyse ought to entreate and kepe hym goodly and humaynly as the sayd right requyreth / And not to kepe hym as a beste or worse than a Jewe or sarrasin / the whiche namely behouen not to be dealed with all so sharply that men gyue them cause for to dyspeyre hem self / And therfore I telle the that he that furst breketh to other and doo trespasse the right / deserueth also that in lykewyse he doo to hym / Ye mayster / but yf it happed that som gentylman tokke another in goode werre / And notwythstandynge that the prysonner haue sworne to the mayster for to kepe pryson / the sayd mayster kepe hym in a stronge toure fast shet vp / I aske the yf suche a prysonner may goo hys waye yf he can / and not be in noo falwe therfore /

¶ For som myght thynke ye / seynge that the mayster trusteth hym not of hys othe that he hathe taken of hym / And sythe that he trusteth not in hys prysonners feyth / thenne can the prysonner breke noo feythe / for he contenteth hym not with the fyrst bonde / But taketh hym another more stronge to whyche he trusteth moost / Therfore breketh

not as he seeth the prysoner hys seyth/ syth hys mayster re
pulseth and taketh hyt as for noone/ I telle the yet ayen that
after thys that the ryght hathe dyshynered of that that ap
perteyn the thynges of armes/ yf the gentylman that hys pri
soner/ is sworne to holde and kepe hys seyth to hys master
Wherfe in lytle wyse after hys promysse/ gyueth hym mete &
drynke suffysauntly and lodgyse not ouere straytc/ and is
wyllyng to treatte wyth hym for a resonable raunson/ and
that wolde not/ he myght be appayred of hys helthe for cau
se of the pryson that hys masters gyueth hym/ yf suche a pri
soner escape out and goo his waye /thoughe hys mayster ke
pe hym in a sure holde/ that he breketh hys othe and doeth ay
enst the ryght of warre and hys dyshonoure / For yf he be
a gentylman he ought to doo as it appartayneth / that is to
wyte to holde hys othe to hys master Wherfe sholde haue kyl
led hym Wohan he tolde hym yf he had wolde/ And supposid
that he kept hym fast shet vp/ he doeth to hym noo wronge/
For he dyde promyse hys master to kepe pryson wel and tru
ly and not breke hyt / soo can not excuse hym self suche a fa
ctyf but that he hath doon euyll/ For syth he dyde putte hym
self in parryll of batayle/ that is to wyte to be other ded or
taken/ he ought to haue bethoughte hym self/ that pryson
was not a place of dysporte nor of feste/ Soo ought he then
ne syth that he is fallen in to parell/ to bere swetly and pa
cyently the penaunce in hope to come out atte last to the beste
¶ Whether a gentylman prysoner of good warre ought ra
ther depe than to be false of hys othe Capytulo / xxiiij/
I suppose master that a knyght or a man of armes be
wythyn the lordys pryson or of som other of the tow
ne/ but so grete a rygoure is made to hym / that men telle &
afferme to hym for certeyne/ that yf he wythin certeyn espace

of tyme haue not doon his raunson/he shal be slayne/Wher
fore he requyreth for goddis loue and for pyte that men Will
late him goo in to his cõtrey for to gete his rauson & that
Without any faWte he Will come ayen Within a certeyn day/
And shortly to saye men gyue hym leue to goo Upon hys
othe made and taken of hym Upon the holy gospell of oure
lorde/by Whyche he sWereth that for to deye he shall not leue
but that he shall come ayen Within the day that he hathe pro
mysed/and so it happeth that it is Impossyble to hym for to
gete hys raunson/noW is to be knoWen Whether he ought
to tourne ageyne for to presente hym self to the dethe Whyche
he is promysed to him/for namely it is Writen in the roma
yn histories that the noble romayns conqueWurs dyde som
tyme soo that rather Wolde expose hem self to the dethe than to
breke the othe of pryson/& yf they that Were paynemys & of
euyl byleue that sWered Wolde leuer deie than for to forsWere
them/It is thene to byleue that better ought the crysten men
to kepe theire othes made Upon the holy gospel of almyghty
god than they/fayre loue thou saist Wel/& yet many moo rai
sons to thy propos thou myght sare/but to ÿ trouthe of the
dede ben ouer many that myght excuse man in suche a cas
Whan that som doctours Will holde ÿ a man shulde rather be
Willing for to deye/than for to forsWere the name of god the
Whiche thus is true in som cas/but as to the same Whiche is
parforced & Byolently made for to saue his oWne lyfe/it is
not determyned ÿ it Were the best/& Wat he is holden therto I
shall saye the reasons/I telle the that after the ryght Writon
an othe that ayenst Wele and Utylyte and namely ayenst
good condycyons made/is not to be kept/And What that
it is eWyll to forsWere hym self/It is yet Worse to kepe
suche an othe/ ¶Soo ought to be chosen of theese tWo

euyll the left/lyke as a man shalbe sworne vpon the gospel or vpon the holy body of oure lorde that he shal slee a man or elles shal do som other grete euyll/it is noo dowte but that moche more worse he shulde doo for to slee a man or to sette a house on a fyre or som other grete euyll/than he shulde doo in suche a cas for to forswere himself/what though he dede vrdely sinne at the fyrst whan he dede swere/for thinges that be vnreasonable he ought not to be sworne/nowe it is so that noon ought to thinke the contrary/that noo man after the lawe is not maister of his body for to putte hit to be slayne or his limes to be cut asondre nomore/than of an another body for yf he sleweth himself/the iustice woll punysshe the body & att a gybet shal hange hit shamefully/also yf he dede cut hys lymes he shulde also be punished by the iustice as another had doon hit/wherfore I telle ꝑ yet ayen that it is not in him for to binde himself by suche maner of wise/nor the othe bindeth him not for it is of noo value/& more I telle the/It is of right worthy that yf a man may kepe another from deth/& he doth it not/we saye that he hathe killed him/he thẽne trespasseth not/yf he doo kepe for hym self that right whiche he ought to kepe for another/that is to wit to eschewe his deth & this is as for to excuse the extremytee of the thiefe/& to supplie that whiche he coude not amende touching the payemẽt of his raũson/But for al this I telle the not/but that he is holden to make his raunson assoone as he may/and to putte hym self in peyne and deuoyre for to acquytte hym self/

Here finisheth the iij partie of this boke/& consequẽtly followeth ꝑ table of the rubrices of ꝑ iiij & last partie of ꝑ same

All the fyrst chapitre aslieth Cristyne to the maister yf a lorde sendeth a saufconduyt to another his enemye be it a baron or a knyght/or what someuer he be/and that

the ſaufconduyt conteyneth onely/of ſauf comyng/Whether after ryght he may arreſte hym by ſuche a cautele at hys goyng hom agayne/ ¶ Capi° h/

¶ Item demaundeth yf a kinyght or ſom other gentylman had a ſaufconduyt for himſelf & iij moo with hym/ Whether he myght vnder-ſhadowe of the ſayd nõbre bringe with him ſom grete lorde for one of the iij in to the cõtrey of his enemyes/ ¶ Capi° i/

¶ Item ſaide cryſtyne to the maiſter that ſhe cyueth herſelf grete merueylle ſeeyng the lytel feyth that renneth in the worlde/how men dare truſt vpon thees ſaufconduyttes/and thenne aſkieth/yf it happe that ſom kynge or prynce cryſten gyueth a ſaufconduyt to a ſarraſyn/ Whether the other cryſten men where he muſte paſſe by ought to kepe vnto hym the ſtrengthe of his ſaufconduyt/ ¶ Capi° iij

¶ Item where as trewes be taken betwene two warryers demaũdeth cryſtine yf that one partye by ſom maner of wyſe may take eny towne fortreſſe or place ayenſt that other/ and yf that one partye breketh ỹ trewes/ whether that other partye is holden to kepe hem or not/ ¶ Ca° iiij

¶ Item begynneth to ſpeke of a maner of werre which is cleped marke/& aſkieth yf ſuche a maner be iuſte or not / c v

¶ Itẽ of the maner ỹ a kynge ought to kepe or that he cyueth any marke/& whether euery lorde may cyue hit/ C vj

¶ Itẽ begynneth to ſpeke of chãp de bataylle & demaũdeth yf it is a ryght wys thinge & of ryght ỹ a man ſhall proue by his body ayenſt another ỹ thinge ỹ is ſecrete & not knowen/ c vij

¶ Item ſheweth for what maner of cas ordyned the lawe imperyall/champ de bataylle/ ¶ Capi° viij

¶ Item for what maner of cas lombardys lawe ordyned/champ de bataylle ¶ Capi° ix

¶ Item Sobs champ de bataylle sheweth & representeth som
what the vese of a questyon pleetable / And whether it is
ryght that at thentrynge of the felde the champyons gyue
theyre othes/ ¶ Capi°/y/
¶ Item yf it hap that one of the champyons leseth any of
his armes while that he fyghteth whether men ought to yel:
de hem ayen or not/And yf the kynge wolde pardonne hym
that is vaynquisshed whether the victoryouse may aske hys
costes or not. And yf there be founde that a man is accused
wrongfully what men ought to do of hym that hath ac:
cused that other/ ¶ Capi°/ yj/
¶ Item asketh yf a man is punysshed of a misdede proued
by champ de bataylle/whether the iustice may punysshe hym
vpon a nelo therfor/and yf one calleth another to a champ
whether he that calleth that other may repente hym self of his
callynge atte his owne wylle ¶ Capi°/yij
¶ Ik demyseth to whiche thinge a kynge or a prynce ought
to see to before that he iugeth euy champ de bataille / & what
counseill men ought to giue to them that shal befight eche
other/ ¶ Capi°/yiij
¶ Ik whether batailles may be don after right vpon a ho:
ly day or not/& whether the lawe holdeth that men may saue
hemself in excercyting thoffyce of armes/ And whether cle:
kes may or ought after the lawe go to a bataille ¶/yiij
¶ Item beginneth to speke of the fayte of blasonnyng of
armes/whether euery man may take of his owne auctory
te facke armes as he wyl ¶ Capi°/xvj/
¶ Item in what manere a gentylman may chalenge ano
ther mannys armes/and in what manere not/ ¶/xvj
¶ Ik of the armes & penoncelles and of the colours moste
nedful that appartayne to the fayte of blasonnyng/ ¶/xvij

Here begynneth the fourth and last part of thys boke/

In the fyrst chaptre demaũded Crystyne/ yf a lorde sendeth a saufconduyt to another his enemye/and that the sauf conduyt speketh but of sauf comynge/Whether after right he may arreste hym atte his goyng hom ageyne/ Capi° /j/

At the begynnyng of thys fourth part of thys boke ryght dere master I Will entre in to another dyfferẽt purpos of Werre dependyng of that Whiche is afore said that is to Wite in to a maner of assuryng Whiche is gi uen to them that goo and come from a contrey to another that haue Werre to eche other Whiche assuring men calle lettres of saufconduyt/Wherof I Will first make Vnto the suche a demaunde / I putte cas that a baron haue Werre With a kinyght/of the Whiche Werre/the frendes of bothe partyes pe yne hem self for to make a goode peas/Wherfore the saide ba ron sendeth hys lettres of saufconduyt to the sayde kinyght Vndre Whiche he may com toWardis hym/ & sendeth to hym Worde With all that he may com surely/the kinyght trustyng Vpon the assuryng of the same lettres cometh to the sayd ba ron/but Whan they haue spoken bothe togyder / and that the kinyght Wyl departe/the baron deth arreste hym / and sayth and proposeth that he is hys prysoner/ For he sayth /ye se atte Werre Wyth me as euery man knoWeth Well Wherfor I may take you atte myn aduauntage Where someuere I can fynde you/that other answereth that he may not doo soo/For the strengthe of his oWne saufconduit deffendeth ỹ same the baron saith that this helpeth him not for bicause ỹ the sauf conduit speketh onely of ỹ comyng thither & not of there tour nyng ayen Wherfore he doo him noo Wronge yf he kepe hym Soo demaũde I of the Whether the baron hathe a goode cause For it shulde seme ye / seeyng that hit suffiseth emonge

enempes to take heede to the tenoure of the lettre vpon ỹ whi che is wryton/ & sith that the kinght hathe be so folysshe that he vndrestode not wel that whiche the sayde bawns wrytinge conteyned/it is not without reason yf he bere a penaunce therfore/ For it behoueth in fayttes of werre/as thy self hast said here byfore/ to vse of cautelles for to deceyue eche other/ late kepe him self that may/ I telle the fayre lone that thou mysseest in thy sayeng in this byhalfe For yf it were as thou saist ouer many Inconuenyentes shulde folowe therof/and therfore the lawe hathe purueyed therto/ that deffendeth expresselv that noone shall deceyue by wordes of fallace nor cautelouse/ For shuldest thou trowe thêne that a man shulde be herde atte a Jugement for to saye I haue solde to another an hondred pownde worthe of lande / and fayre and well I haue delyuered hit vnto his handes wherof he is holden vnto me in suche a som of money that he moste paye me for / & semblably of other suche thinges of the whiche as wel I telle the/shulde not be reputed nor taken in Jugement but for a trifle or a mocke/and the man begiler that wolde vse therof shulde be punysshed therfore/ And therfore to oure propos what that for to take alwaye all scrupulenes a man ought neuer to trust in suche lettres/without that it be wel expressed of sauff gooyng and sauffe comyng ayen and also of sauf abydyng & of al the other circomstances that bylongen therunto/how be it that the lawe wol not that the malyce of the fraudylouse deceyuer take soo straytly the symplenes of hym that gooth thus vpon and vndre the termes of gode feythe/ ¶ Soo ought to be vndrestande the saufconduyt thentent of hym vnto whome it is yeven/ By the whiche saufconduyt he holdeth hym self sure aswel for to abyde sauf as for to goo & retourne ayen sauf /otherwise it were

noo ſaufconduit/but it ſhulde be treaſon that ouer greatly we re to be blamed/& ſuche is ꝑ certeintee therof/Notwiſtãding it may be/ꝑ ſom in dede without right noꝛ traſon haue vſed oꝛ wolde gladly vſe therof/which ought to tourne them in to grete vituperye and blame/but euery man hathe not the power ſoꝛ to doo al the euyll that he gladly wolde doo/

¶ Yf a kinyght oꝛ ſom other gentylman had a ſaufconduit ſoꝛ his perſone & ſoꝛ/ix/men with him/whether he myght vnder colour of the ſame take with him in to the countrey of enemyes ſom grete lorde in ſtede of one of the/ix/men/ C ij

Syth that we be entred in matere of ſaufconduytes/an ſuere me nowe of another queſtion/A kinyght of englond hathe a ſaufconduyt of the kyng of Fraũce ſoꝛ hym & ſoꝛ/ix/other with him on hoꝛſbacke ſoꝛ to ceme in to Fraunce ſoꝛ ſom adoo he hathe there/& it happeth that a grete lorde oꝛ baron of england deſyreth hym that he may be one of the/ix/his felawes/by cauſe that he wolde fayne goo ſee Fraũce to ſpoꝛte hym there/the which thinge the kinyght graunteth to him/& thus he goeth forth with hym Ů ꝑ wof it happed whan they be lodged nyghe paris that the ſayde loꝛde oꝛ baron is knowen there of a kinyght of the kynges of Fraunce/which well accompanyed cometh ſcone towardys hym there as he is lodged/and telleth hym that he yelde hym & that he is his pryſoner/ To the which thinge thenglyſſhe kinyght that brought the baron with hym anſwereth/that he may not doo ſoo/Foꝛ by vertue of hys ſaufconduyt he may goo be beyng the tenthe thrughe the royalme of Fraunce of which/y/this baron is one/ Foꝛ ſuche as hym pleaſed he might take with hym/ ¶ Anſwereth the frenſhe kinyght and ſayth/ Ye be but a ſymple kinyght/ſoo may ye not bringe with you noo greter man of condycyon than ye be of vnder youre ſaufconduyt/ For yf it were ſoo

than myght ye in lyke wyse haue brought youre kynge with you or ony of his children/ the whiche thynge is not rayso nable/ and namely hym that ye brynge with you is lettre in value to bringe you with him/ than ye hym/ for he is moche more grete than ye be/ That other saithe/ I brynge hym not with me vndre my/ saufconduyte/ But vndre the kynge of Fraunces saufconduyt/ so aske I and beseche that hyt may be enterpreted and kepte to me after the tenoure therof/ This questyon cometh to iugemẽt I aske the whiche of both hath the right I saie the frenshman For after the ryght vnderstonding/ in suche a generalyte ought not to be vnderstande a greter man than he is hym self/ For yf a man gyueth a procuracyon to another for to doo & execute certeyn thynges of hys owne/ it is not therfore to be vnderstãde that he gyueth him a generall procuracyon/ or that he ought to abuse therof/ & in especyall in fayt of armes/ neuer suche a thinge shulde right suffre to passe/ For it myght tourne to preiudice to the perssonne that gyueth the sauecondyut/ Now I aske the another thinge/ I suppose that a chyef captayne of an oste of Frauce whiche is sent by the kynge vpon the frontieres/ saith and affermeth that he hathe the power for to gyue saufconduyte thruche all Guyenne/ Wherfore he doo sende worde to the Seneshall of Rouergue that he will com vnto a certeyn place vpon the frenshe grounde/ by cause that gladly he wolde speke with him/ & for to doo soo he sendeth hym a saufconduit wherupon the sayde seneshal departeth vpon the surete of the same saufconduyt for to come to the place that is saide betwene hem/ but it happeth him to be taken of som frenshemen by the waye that putte hym in to pryson/ I aske the whether the sayde chief captayne is holden to gete him out of prison atte his expenses/ For it semeth ye/ seeyng that by his

assewraunce he is fallen in to that Inconuenyence and domage/ Fayre loue the contrary is trouthe/ & knowe thou why For it is sayde comonly that without a cause shulde a man be called a fole without that his folye shulde be causer of hys domage And dit is clerly certeyn that the seneshal ought not to haue byleued the captayne/ but yf he wyst for certeyn that the frenshmen wolde kepe his saufconduyt wherfore thenne yf he hathe ben symple and folysshe/ the hurt and domage must a light and abyde vpon hym/ for with all this he ought wel to wite/ that a captayne hathe noo power to kepe hym sure but fro his owne folie/ And sithe thenne that other frenshmen that be not of his retenue haue won vnto hym the same/ what can the sayde captayne doo therof/ And also it is noo ryght that one shall gyue a preuplege to one that is gretter than hym self for to come in to the royalme of his souerayne lorde/ nor namely yf he were bounde to kepe hym sauffe/ all shulde not auayle/ For ony obligacyon made ayenst power is of noo value/ and all other the whiche be in the ryght of armes ought not to be vnknowen to the seneshall/ otherwise he were vnworthy and not able to that office Soo thenne I conclude for that the captayne had gyuen the saufconduyt for true and goode whiche hathe ben of noo value/ he is not therfore holden to paye the sayde raunson Neuertheles yf he be a gentylman he is holden to purchasse towardis the kynge his delyueraūce with all his power bicause that thrughe his fawte he is fallen in to suche an inconuenyence/

¶ Here sayethe ypryssyne to the mayster that she hath herself grete merueylle seeyng the lytell feyth that regneth now ony body dare truste in saufconduytes/ And syn demaundeth that yf it happe that som prynce or cyte kynge gyue a

saufconduyte to som sarasyn/ Whether it is so that other kynges ought suffre hym to passe by them vndre vertue of the same/ Capytulo / iiij/

Mayster wythout fayll thys semeth me grete merueyl le seeyng the lytel trouthe and fydelyte that this day renneth thrugh al the worlde/holde a prynce or a lorde or som other gentylman /& namely whatsoeuere man ỹ it be dare truste hym self vndre a saufconduyt for to goo in a place where his enemyes be more myghty and more stronge than he/ ¶ Crystyne yf thou therof haue merueylle / it is not without a cause/holde well that a saufconduyt after thaun cyent constytucyon of the ryght of armes & also of al lawe ought for to be after hys nature a sure thynge betwyx par tyes and mortall enemyes whiche we call capytall enemy es in oure lawes/the whyche letters of surete the good and valyaunt conquerours that were in tyme past/ shulde not haue broken ne enfrayned for to dey/¶But nowe in tyme pre sent for the barates/subtylnes/and decrypte that be founde by whiche men haue noo shame for to make a lye berkynge theyre feyth and theyre othe amonge crysten folke moche more than ony Jewes · nor paynemys wolde doo/ wherfore it is counseylled by som of oure maysters that men shal not truste of light in saufconduytes where as the tyme is nowe come that where the lawes doo calle fraude and barat it is nowe called subtylte and cautele / whereof folowyth ofty mes grete parell/ For in dede yf a man of what astate or condycyon that he be of wyl do som treason to som other bo dy whan that he hathe the personne in a place where he fyn deth hym self ỹ more stronge/he shal fynde a noone al ynou ghe whereof to colowre a cause to stryue wyth hym wherfore he shal slee hym/ or poyson hym he wyl / or perhappes shal

brenne his hous or ſhall robbe hym/or otherwyſe ſhall hurt hym vndre coulourable decepte/And whan thys is ſo woon there nys noo ryght that can com tyme ynought for to recō penſe hym therof by cauſe it is woon vndre falſe coulour / & for thees doubtes ſaith the lawe with gode ryght that for ſurete of a perſone that putteth hym ſelf vndre the power of his enemye can not gyue hym ſelf to grete a preuylege/ For after the dede woon the inſtytucyon were nothynge/ Wyth out faille maiſter/it is trouthe/but yet to this propos telle thou me a queſtyon after ryght/ I putte cas that a cryſten kynge had gyuen a ſaufconduyt to ſom ſaraſyn/I aſkie the what folkie cryſten ought to kepe hym his ſaufconduyt/for to the purpos of that that thou haſte ſaid to fore may ſeme to me al firſt that the popis nor the emperours folkie/haue nothinge a doo therof where as they be belongynge to a grat ter lorde/than is the kynge/I knowe what thou wilt ſaye/ For ſothe they be not holden therto nor namely noon other kynge cryſten after the poynes of the lawes / the whyche ſaye that a kynge can not gyue noo maūdement nor ordy: naunce wythout his Juriſdicyon/ And therof I ſhall telle the the trouthe/For ſom of his owne ſubgettes myght alſo doubte that they be not holden therunto/the cauſe why is/ by cauſe that the ſarraſyns ben generall enemyes of al cryſtia nyte/And it is a thynge of trouthe and alſo wryton that noo cryſten man ought not to receyue ony maner enemye of the lawe of god/Soo is a man moche more bounde to obeye god/than his temporal lorde/as the lawe wytneſſeth that ſaythe/that to euery perſone is permytted for to gayn: ſaye hys lorde/yf he be ſuche a man that he will kepe/kere/ſuſ teyne/gyue fauoure to the enemyes of the lawe of god/By what ryght therme ſhulde be holden the ſubgett of the ſayde

kynge for to kepe that same saufconduyt/And also the sar-
rasyns haue not werre onely with one kynge crysten but
ayenst all/and with this the lawe saith that that thynge
whiche wolweth all ought to be approued of all/it is other
wyse nought/but nowe another thynge is there to be vn-
derstande/that is to wite/that yf it be soo/that for a raisona-
ble cause it is gyuen vnto hym as for to purchasse the rau-
son of som lord or kynyght or som other that is in the sarra-
syns handes as a prysonner/or for som other cause Juste &
raysonable/wolwte not therof/that not onely the subgectes
of the sayde kynge that gyue the sayde saufconduyt/but ge-
nerally all crysten men where as he must passe by/ought to
suffre hym goo surely for two prynceypall raysons/that one
is/by cause that they shal not saye by vs emonge themself
that litel feythe and loue we shulde haue togyder amonge
vs that are crysten people/whan we wolde not suffre that
they shulde purchas the delyueraunce of thoos crysten that
be prysoners in theyre handes for the feyth of oure god/that
other/yf rudnes were doon to them of the crysten whan they
come amonge vs/supposed that it were for vtteraunce of
theyre marchaundyses or as ambassatours or for som other
Juste encheson/they myght selle hit ryght dere to oure crys-
ten people that for semblable causes goo amonge them full
often/ Soo ought we to kepe them suche ryght/ as we wol
that they shall doo to vs/ But yf it happed soo that a kyng
or a towne had werre ayenst another/and for to aduenge
hym self or for som other vnreasonable cause shulde doo co-
me to his aide or other wyse som myghty sarrasyn vndre
saufconduyt/In suche a cas neo crysten soldie subgette or
other ought not to suffre hym/nor the vasselles nor capy-
taynes shulde not be reputed for forsworne nor vntrewe to

theyre lorde for the same/ For the lawe namely sayth that yf eny body be founde berynge eny lettres ayenst the comon stylyte men may take hem from him and brenne hem wyth out leue of the iuge/and another like hyt sayth that al man ought to putte from a bout hym all kretylies and folie that doo ayenst the feyth/

¶ Begynneth to speke of trewes/and asketh yf that whyle they laste betwene two werreyers / Any towne castell or other thynge may be taken one vpon other/ And whether that one partye shal kepe the trewes whyche that other partye hath broken or not/ Capytulo /iiij/

QAyster me semeth that there is another assewryng of werre betwix enemyes that men calle trewes/whiche is as one manere of a peas made for a certeyn season/ So wol I therfore som what wyte of the of suche questyons as I shall make to the concernyng the same / by cause that other whyle I haue harde saye in som contreys where namely it hath be som tyme vsed/that it is noo grete euyll in tyme of trewes yf men see theyre aduauntage for to take or stele by som cauteele som towne or castell or som gode prysoner yf they may/ So demaunde I of the yf it is trouthe that men may doo soo without wronge to doo Wherby to thys I answere vnto the that who someuer doo soo he enfrayneth the pure ryght of this that trewes contreynen/ And to thende thou shall knowe hit best soo that thou mayste in thys partye testyfye it the bettre/I shall telle the what oure maisters sayen therof/ Fyrst of all they saye that trewes is a wyall assewrynge that by noo ryght ought neuer to be broken vpon peyne cappytall lyke as the ryghtwis lawe of a kynge or prince ought neuer to be broken/ ¶ Item that trewes contreynen thre pryncypall thynges / that is to wyte sure

ponen for goodys moeuable and other goodis/ ¶ Item ſem blably to men/ and thirdly hit drawyth to a treatice and to hope to haue peas/ And thenne ſyth that treſwes contreynen in hem ſelf ſuche thynges bothe in generall and in eſpecyall by what ryght myght the one partye take other tolwne or caſtel or other thyng vpon that other partye/ dere loue with out faylle they that doon ſoo or that contryuen that yt may be doon without wronge/ they ſett nothyng by the ryght/ ſoo fynde they dyuerſe maneres of leggylyng/ And ſythe that they wol couere theyre falſhed with ryght and with the la we whyche vttyrly is ayenſt hem / there as ſhe ſayth that al thyng taken and vſurped vndre truſte of trues ought to be polden ayen and reſtored and all the coſtys payed/ the name of treſwes ought not to be called amonge ſuche men/ But theyre dooyng ought rather to be cleped extorcyon & deceyte/ And wote thou what a kynge or a prynce ought to doo of hys owne folke that ſuche a vylany ſholde doo to hym/ as to make hym lye and not ſayeng trouthe of hys promeſſe and affyaunce made / Oy my feythe to make theyre hedes to be ſmytten of/ So ſhulde other take enſample/ and thys is the ſentence of the lawe and therof he ſhuld gete ſuche a gode na me that he ſhulde be reputed a ryghtwois kynge/ and more doubted he ſhuld be therfore/ And by the ſame he ſhulde gyue to hys enemyes cauſe for to yelde them the ſooner and glad lyer vnto hym/ the whiche yf they be broken of them/ and that he can haue ſom of them to hys a boue/ noo raunſon ought not to ſpare them/ but that they be pugnyſhed as it appartei neth/ And I aſke the mayſter/ yf the kynge of Fraūce and the kynge of englande had ſworne a treſwes togyder for a certeyn tyme/ and that the ſayde kynge of englande ſhulde breke hem in dede/ ſhulde the kynge of Fraunce be holden to

kepe for it myght seme ye/seeyng that supposed that yf one doo som euyll/another is not holden to doo lyk semblably/ But ought euery man to kepe his trouthe within hym self/I telle that syth that one of the two kynges wolyche that he be and of all other in lyke cas/hathe broken hys promesse and hathe for sworn hym self/that other is not holden to kepe hys othe that he had made vnto him/and for the same he for sweareth hym not/for after ryght syth that men haue broke fyrst couenaunt voyth hym he is not bounde to kepe the same/but he is assoylled by the ryght voryton of the Jugemēt therof/And that worse is he shuld synne dedly yf he shulde suffre hys owne folke to be slayne for salvte of his owne deffense

¶ Here speketh of one maner of werre called marque/to wite yf it is iuste/ Capytulo/vi/

MAyster where yet I am not satysfyed with thy wyse and Juste conclusyons I wol make vnto the certeyn questyons and demaundes vpon another maner of dyfference that nygh draweth to werre whiche I wot not whether it is of ryght or not/ For the auncyent gestes make noo mencyon therof/but the prynces and the lordes syn the auncyent lordshipes haue taken to vse therof whiche is called Marke that is whan a man of a royalme as it were of Fraunce or of som other lande/can not haue noo ryght of certeyn wronge doon to hym of som myghty man straunger wherfore the kynge gyueth hym a maner of a lycence to take/arreste or to putte in to pryson thrugh strengthe and vertue of certeyne lettres optayned of hym marchauntis and all other and in like wyse theyre goodis that cometh out of the lande and countrey of hym that hath doon the wronge vnto tyme that ryght and restytucyon were made vnto the

party playntyff of his action and demaunde/ God wolde I gladly wete yf suche a thinge cometh of ryght/ For a grete mervayle it is to me that a man of the countrey of hym that hathe doon the mysdede that haply neuer see hym nor is not coulpable/and yet for thys cause he shal be arrested or putte in to pryson and his goodys taken yf he be founde where as he that was wronged hathe pouwer/and shall must nede paye and restore that wherof he oweth nought nor hathe no gylt therunto/ Doughter dere to saye trouthe thou must knowe after the wrytynge of thauncyent ryght/ that thys maner of warre that is called marke/thrugh whiche one taketh and seketh domage for another wythout hys desserte is not iuste nor the ryght wryton graunteth hit not/ the whyche ryght hath ordeyned that yf a marchaunt of paris or of wlens be of is founde to a marchaunt of Florens whiche asketh iustice byfore his iuge/ but he can not haue of hym hys asseynge/the marchaunt florentyn may pursue his debytour to sore the seynge tyl that ryght be admynystred vnto hym/ But for to saye that by cause that a marchaunt of paris is founde vnto hym/he myght putte in pryson another marchaunt or bourgeys of paris or of some other place of the royalme/or hys goodis to take vndre arrest/verely for to saye thys maner of sourme is nother of ryght nor of rayson grounded/ But see here what of ryght may be doo therto/whiche lordes haue brought vp for thys cause/ I suppose that an ytalyen were holden to a frenshe man of a grete some of syluere/ of the whiche londe he wyl defraude and beggle hym that is hys creditour/wherfore he forsaketh hys owne countrey and goeth dwell in england by cause that he knowe well that the frenshman shall not goo for to pursue nor plete with hym there/ Or elles thys

mygght fall another manere of cas / A geneloey is bounde longe a goo to a frencheman wheche shall knowe well that by cause of the eupll wylle that nowe is betweene the kynge of Fraunce and the duke of Jennes/the frenshman shal not goo to Jennes for to pursue his dutee/wherfore he shal be of so eupll contynaunce/that he shal doo noo force for to make restytucyon/what shall thenne the frenshman doo he shall drawe hym self towardis the kynge/as a subgect ought to his lorde/for to haue his help that he may recouere his owne goodis/The kynge thenne well enformed that this man sayd trouthe/shall gyue hym marke/ And in lykewyse the kynge shall gyue the same yf it hap that a knyght or som gentylman complayneth that he hathe be dyssessed & robbed Inuuried or brought to ashame som where as the kynge ha the noo deffyaunce of werre vnto the tyme that restytucion and amende be to hym made/Thys calletele founde the coun seyllers of the prynces for to withstande suche baratres and deceytes/Thys marke conteyneth that euery persone that shuld be soude in the lande of the prince that grueth hit that is of the contrey/towne or place of hym that shulde haue doo or shulde doo the oultrage or wronge/ shulde be take & his goodis in to the courtis hande/tyl that the marchaut were payed & restored/or that to the inurie were made a suffisaut amende/& thenne whan the marchautes see themself so eupl handled in straunge coutrees where as marke is gruen aienst them/they fynde suche wayes with the iustice of theyre place or towne that he or they that be causers of the wrong that was doon/shal be constrayned to contente & restore that other & for this cause hit was soude & brought vp/and to this pro pos serueth well a comon prouerbe that sayth/that by an in conuenyent is chastysed another inconuenient/ also by the

ſame hurt is another hurt repayred/for by noon other wa:
ye can men haue noo ryght of many and dyuerſe wrongys
that be doon/or that might be doo to ſtraungers goynge by ỹ
waye/But not withſtandyng that this thing myght ha:
ue eny colourꝛ of ryght I telle the ſo moche therof that euery
kynge or prynce of whom this marke is requyred / ought
not therfore to graunt hit lyghtly/For it is a thinge ouere
grꝛeuouſe and poyſaunt/ Wherfore it ought to be delibered
with peyne for two pryncipall raiſons/that one by cauſe it
is a thinge that full ſore may hurt a mannys conſcyence/
that other is/that it may be a begynnyng of alwerre/ And
therfore what ought a kynge for to doo when he is requy:
red for to gyue hit ayenſt ſom countrey / cyte or towne / he
ought firſt enquyre by his preſident or chaũceller/or by ſom
other wiſe begyſte or man of lawe for what rayſon he requy
reth the ſame & what cauſe he hath therto/And yf the man
ſayth that when he cam fro mylaen were taken from hym
in the towne of Aſt ten thouſand frankis orthe value the
rof or more or leſſe/& that of them he coude haue noo ryght
but they of the towne bare out this thynge though that he
dide his deuoire to complayne biſore theire iuſtyce/Thenne
ought ỹ kinge to write vnto them / prayying that amyably
they wyl receyue his lettres & make reſtitucyon to be made
vnto his ſubget of the oultrage hurt & domage that by one
or dyuerſe of hem hath be doon/and yf it ſo happe thẽne that
for his ſendyng & deſire they wol doo nought & make noo
force of the kyngis lettres/& that it be ſeen & delibered by dy:
rection of gode coũſeil thẽne ſuche a marke longeth therto/
the kynge thenne after the coſtume of the lordes temporall
may gyue hit of his auctorite eſpecyall/

¶ Yet of the ſame/and whether al lordis may gyue marke

Whether the kynge ought to gyue hit for a ſtranger that
will be made his cytezeyne/ & Whether ſcolers myght be trou-
bled by vertu of the ſame or not/ ¶ Capitulo/vj/

THene maiſter yf it happed that the peple of florence or
of ellis where had taken in like caas the goodis of a
marchaũt of paris/holde ſhulde marke be gyuen ayenſt that
ſame cyte/for yf men goo to the right there moſt iuſtice be aſ
ked therof to the ſouerayne iuge of the ſame place that is the
emperoure/but holde be it that they ben of right his ſubgetis
it is not to be doubted but that they wol doo litell or nought
for hym/& to ſaie that the marchaũt ſhulde goo to plee bifo
re theire poteſtate of that yere ỹ haply ſhal be a cordewaner
or a tailler & yet ſhal he bere hys gylt gyrdell as a kynyght
ſhapyng & ſowyng his ſhone after theyre cuſtome/ Soo by
leue I that litel ryght he ſhulde fynde there/I ſaye not onely
more of florence than of another cite where as the peple go
uerneth/what thene ſhall therof be made/Ha faire loue that
that I tolde the bifore ſhalbe doo/the kynge ſhall ſende thy-
ther his lettres & if they make of them noo force/he ſhall the
ne moeve gyue hys marke agenſt them lawfulli/ſith ỹ they
ſaie hemſelf that they haue noo ſouerayne/but calle hemſelf
lordes of florence/maiſter I aſke the yf all lordes may gyue
marke/My loue I anſwere the nay/For as thy ſelf haſt ſay
de & replikied bifore / noo lorde may Juge where / but yf he
be ſouerayne of Juriſdiction/And where thene this dede of
marke after his owne kynde & condicion is like vnto wher
re noon may gyue the ſame/but yf he be a lorde without me
ane/as the kinge of fraũce & other ben of theyre royalmes/
Nowe telle me yet/I ſuppoſe that a marchaũt borne of the ci
te of mylan hathe ben dwelling of longe tyme in parys/&
hath there houſyng herytages & landes Wherfore he ſhalbe

repaired & taken after the custome as a burgeys of the cyte
there I aske the yf for this may the kynge shal gyue marke
yf the cas as a boue is saide happeth to falle/seeyng that he
is not of the nacion of fraūce/but is borne vnder the iury-
diction imperyal/I answere the that after the rule of ryght he
that is partener of the hurt & charge/he ought in lyke wise to
be partener of the wele & cōfort/wherfore yf it be so that this
marchaūt hane of longe tyme payed the subsidies & impost
cyons of his marchaūdise & goodis vnto the kynge & is a
burgeys/without fayle ỹ kynge is holden to here & support
hym in al thynges as his subgett & citezeyne/ & semblably
Nota I telle the of a knyght or som other gētylman straūger dwe
ellyng of long tyme in Fraūce & seruyng the kynge in his
werres/soo that he haue lyuelode there of his owne/yet I as
ke the yf for cause of this marke thus gyuen/myght a clerk
studieng atte the scoles within paris be letted or troubled or
od his goodis arrested/I answere/as aboue/that nay nor name
ly his fader that were come for to see hym there/(Nor name
ly the kynge may not gyue marke thoughe the cas so befell
ayenst what somenere folke of the chyrche/where as he hathe
nought to knowe ouer them/ but this longeth to the pope
yf they ben prelats/& of other it lieth in theyre prelat that
ought to compelle them for to do right & reason/nor the king
by right can gyue therto noo remedy/but yf it be atte thyn-
staunce of his prayer/& yet I telle the that al pelgrimes of
what lande or nacyon so euere they be/be it in tyme of were
re/of truebes or of marke/ben in ỹ sauegarde of god & of the
saint where as they purpose to goo to/& therfore ỹ countrey
taketh hem in her especiall sauuegarde wherby they be privi
leged aboue all other folke that be reputed as folke of holy
chyrche/& he is acursed of oure holy fader the pope ỹ hurteth

or troubleth them by any maner of wyse/

¶ Here begynneth to speke of champ of batail/and asketh yf it is iuste & goode that a man shall proue by his owne body fightyng ayenst another that thyng whyche is secret and vnknowen/ Capitulo/viij/

After thees thinges whyche as I am ryght content of the solacyons aboue sayde/right dere maister cõtinuyng ỹ matere of werre I wol make to the other questiõs/bi cause that in my tyme I haue somtyme seen vsed in fraũce of thys whereof I wyl nowe speke/& namely bifore my tyme hit hathe be vsed all ynoughe in other places as for faites of armes/that is to wite werre ỹ is onely made betwene two champions or other whyle many of one quarelle in a closed felde/the whyche werre is called champ of bataille whyche one gẽtylman vndertaketh for to doo ayenst another for to proue by myght of his owne body som cryme or trayson that is occulted or hydd/soo demaũde I of the yf suche a bataille is iuste & permytted by ryght/doughter & dere loue of this matere amonge all other/bicause ỹ the noble men that be not clerkis that this book shall nowe here or rede / knowe best what in this is to be doon it pleaseth me right well to answere ỹ ther of/wherfore to thẽde that they ỹ loue the dedes of knyghthode shall vnderstande hem self in this matere /& that thy self that after me shal write it mayst shewe ỹ trouthe therof I telle the/that emonge the other thingis of armes/after diuine ryght & also after right humayne bothe canon & ciuyll/to giue a gage of champ of bataille/or to receyue hit for to fyght/is thing reprened & condẽpned/& amonge the other decrees that forbedeth ỹ same/is acursed by the ryght canon aswel he that gyueth hit/as he ỹ receyueth hit/& mocke more they ỹ suffren & byholden them/nowe mayst thou see whether it is a

thinge that oughte to be doon or not/& that this be true wel by
the ſholde pope Vrbayn the vi/ of that name/ whan that a chap
of flaundrik ſhulde haue be made atte Belleroue by auyron of
two ſimyghtes ỹ had arreſted themſelf for to fyght one ay-
enſt that other before kinge Johan of fraūce the whiche chap
or clos felde ouer ſaide holy fader the pope as thinge prohibit
& deffended/ comaūded expreſſly vpon peyne of curſyng ỹ noon
ſhulde goo there for to ſee the ſame/ & yf thou or other wold
telle me/ that to doo ſuche a thinge/ it is vſauer of armes/ I
anſwere the/ that muche more grete is the right of god/ & mo
re ought men to obey therunto/ than to the vſage of armes
and that it is true/ that folkie ought not to ſuffre nor doo the
ſame there is many good raiſons that dyuine ryght aſſi
gneth therto the whiche right diuyne is ỹ ryght of holy chir
che/ wherunto we ought to obey vpon peyne of dedly ſinne/
whiche right deuyne condempneth all thinge by whyche fol-
ſie wyl tempte god/ For men wil ſinowe yf god ſhall helpe
the ryght/ & alſo as by theyre temptyng ỹ god ſhulde doo my
racle/ the whiche thinge is vndue as for to experimente the
wille of god & it apieceth/ for we ſaie that for to aſke a thyn
ge ayenſt nature or aboue nature is preſūpcyon & it diſplea
ſeth god/ & for to twolue that the feble ſhalle ouercome ỹ ſtrō
ge/ & the olde the yonge or the ſike the hole/ by ſtrengthe of
goode right/ to haue/ as haue had & haue cōfidence they that
therto putte hemſelf/ ſuche a thinge is but atēptyng of god
& I ſaye for certeyn ỹ yf it happe them to wynne/ it is but an
aduēture/ & not for the gode ryght that they therto haue/ & ỹ
this be true/ I ſhal by reaſon ſhewe it to the / hathe not oure
lorde ſuffred many a goode man to be putte to dethe wrong
fully & without a cauſe of whome the ſowles ben blyſſfully
in paradiſe & not this miracle he dede for them/ ſhulde thēne

trouue a poure ſinner/that god ſhulde doo more for hym/than he dide for them/Trouthe it is alſo that oftymes it hathe be ſeen that he that had good ryght loſt/Wherfore a decretall re membreth ſuche an hiſtorie/Howe Vpon a tyme in the cyte of poulent Were two bretherne accuſed of theft/Wherfore after the Vſage of the ſame cyte behoued to deffende hemſelf in chāp of bataylle Where as they were ouercome/Wherof ſoone after hit happed that within the ſaide cyte was founde the theef that had doon the dede Wherby manifeſtly was knowen that the two bretherne that al redy were dyſtroyed were nothig gylty therof/And thus by cauſe that ſemblably it hathe be knowen to hap ſoo dyuerſe tymes in dyuerſe landes & alſo that it is a thinge Vnrayſonable to be doon/the ryghtes ca nonall haue reproued this maner of fyghtyng/& as the la we ſaithe yf by ſuche a maner men Wold proue & make good theire ryght/Wis quarelle/the iuges that be ſtabliſhed & ordeyned for to do iuſtice were as Vayne/& it is an euyll rai ſon for to ſaye/yf I can not proue nor make gode that that I ſaie/I ſhall fyght therfore and ſhall proue hit by my body for noon but god & I and he that I appelle therof knoweth it not/& yf ſom man Wolde ſaie to me trouth but the euyllis p ſecretly be doon can not be puniſhed by iuſtice ſith that they can not be proued/I telle the that Verely they can not be pu nyſhed/but he that awayteth that the ſinne Whiche is hid & ſe cretly kept be punyſhed by hym/ſuche a man Wil Vſurpe the diuyne puiſſaūce & the ſapiēce of almyghty god Whiche one ly appartayneth to the punycyon therof/& affermeth a decree that ſaith/that yf all ſinnes were punyſhed in this Worlde the Juges of god ſhulde haue noo place/& another rayſon there is that this thinge cōdēpneth/that is/that the lawe cyuyl hathe ordeyned iuges & iugement for to doo as raiſon

vnpryeth in place & that noone be taken for a witnes in his owne cause/but a man that thus wyl make a proue by his body forseth him self for to breke this lawe/Itē by ryght ca-
non it is yet more reproued / for it comaūdeth expresly that
men shal obeye the pope & hys comaūdements/& he by a good
reason hathe comaūded expresly that men shal neuer fyght
by suche a maner of wise/ Fayre loue thus mayst thou see
that suche a batayll is proued/to the whiche thing god gra
mercy the kynge of fraūce and his gode coūseyll/ hathe wel
aduysed wherfore hit shulde be noo more in ewre within his
royalme/ the blessid god gyue ioye peas & honour & paradyse
to them that thrughe vertue of gode wit haue entremytted &
peined hem self that suche a thinge were putte a donne out of
that right cristen royalme of fraunce/ And that all suche
other folisshe dedes of armes that thrughe pougthe without
cause/but onely for a maner of pride of one for to ouercome
that other without any quarell whiche is dysplaysaunt to
god/ be lefte / & where this said royalme whiche is the suxr
latyf aboue all other crysten royalmes hathe bygonne thesa
me al other yf it please god shal take ensample so to doo that
theire noble men dysobey not the chyrche puttyng the body in
parell of dethe to theire grete dysworshyp without a cause &
theire sowles dāpned & lost for euermore/ O lord god what
folysshe enterpryse/ ¶ For what causes the lawe
Imperyal dyde ordeyne champ of batayll ¶ Capitulo/viij/
But be cause that the deffēses aboue said of the ryght wri
ton haue not be alwere obserued nor kept nor yet be
not obeyed in al royalmes as touchyng for to fyght in chāp
of batayll as it is said I shal telle the causes for the whiche
they that dede sett hit vp haue iuged it to be doo ỹ is to wite
thēperour federik that so muche contraried holy chyrche that he
chassed ỹ pope out of hys place ỹ tyme whan he cam to his

refuige & seconre towarde ỹ kinge of fraūce/& also another scrip
ture that men calle the lōbardisshe lawe/ doth expresse therof in di
uerse cases/the whiche hereafter shalbe declared by me Vnto
the/first the said ẽpeours lawe saith/yf a man be accused of
traison that he haue machined purchassed procured or cons
pired ayenst his prynce or aienst his cite/or ellis to ỹ preiu
dice of the comyn weele what soeuer the cas be of whiche the
trouthe can not be by noo prowes knowen/& ỹ this man so
accused offreth to deffēde & purge himself by champ of bata
ylle ayenst al men that wol saie aienst hym/shalbe receyued
to do the said champ of batayle/ Itē that yf a prisoner of
warre be kept in prison by the partye aduerse/& ỹ it happeth
during the said prisonemēt/that peas be made betwixt the two
parties Vndre condicyon that al manere of prisoners shalbe
deliūed sauf ageyn without paieng of any raūson wherefore
it may hapli fall that the maister sleeth his prisoner for whi
che myssede by right he may lese his hed/& he be reproued & at
teinted therof/wherupon he saithe ỹ he slewe him in his defē
se/& that first of all the prysoner had other traiteously or by
som otherwise assayled whan they were but they two toge
der & this he wol make good by gode proue of his owne bo
dy in a champ of batailē yf any man were that wold say
contrary aienst hym/he ought to be receyued/ Item also it
saithe as by suche a fall/we putt cas that the kynge of fras
unce & the kyng of England had trewes togider/& that it
shulde hap a Frenshman durynge this tyme to wounde &
hurt full sore an Englysshemā or an englisshmā a frensshemā
of ỹ whiche thynge ỹ lawe saythe/ỹ in suche a cas behoueth
of ryght and Justyce a greter punicyon to him that hathe
hurted ỹ other than yf he hadd doon thesame to one of his
owne coūtrey/yf he ỹ this wronge hath doon wold were hyt

out by the poynte of his owne body that this was done of hym in his defence ayenst that other that fyrst had assailed hym/this wordis by the sayde lawe imperial ought to be her de/Item yf a man accuseth another ỹ he wold haue had slayn the kinge or the prynce by poysons or otherwise/& that other sayethe that he lieth falsly & for the same called hym to chap of batayll/he is holden by the said lawe imperiall to answere him & kepe hym the day ỹ he shal sett for to fight with hym

¶ For what causes dyde ordeyne the lombardys/the lawe champ/of batayll/

¶ Capitulo/xo/

So is there another lawe that is called the lawe of lõbardye where in be cõprysed many dyuers thynges/& in the same by especyal the maisters that stablysshed it haue therupon writen many causes to whiche men may gyue gage for to fight in champ of batayll/& out of the same lawes are come almost al the iugementis of ꝙuing of gage that is to saye a token of deffyaũce for to befight hys enemye within a clos felde whiche men calle champ of batayll/ so shal I telle the som of thoo causes/that is to wite yf a man accuseth his wyf that she hathe trayted or bespoken for to make hym dey other by poyson or by som other secret dethe wherof by som colour he hathe her in suspeyon / but she can not be to the trouthe truly attainted/or ellis whan the husbãd is ded/& his kynnesmen putteth vpon his wif that she hath made him to be brought to dethe yf thys woman can fynde a kynnesman of hers or som other frende that wyl fyght for her keping out ỹ that whiche is laide vpon her/is falsly saide/the lõbardis lawe wyl that he shal be receyued for to fyght for her ayenst who someuer wyl blame her/Item yf a man were accused that he had slayne another/And that this coude not be proued ayenst hym/Yf he casteth his gage ayenst hym that

accuſeth hym the lawe will that he be receyued/ Item ſemblably that yf he hadd bete a man vndre aſſeurans/ Item alſo yf a man haue ſlayne another man bothe al alone & that he wol make a proffe by gage of his body that it was in his defft̄ ſyng & that the other aſſaylled him firſt/ the ſaide lawe wyl that he ſhalbe herde/ Item yf a man after the decreſſe of ſom kinneſman of hys of whom he ought to haue the goodis by ſucceſſion as next heyre/ were accuſed to haue ſlayne hym forto haue his liflode & his goodes/ he may deffēde hym ſelf therof by his body after the forme aforſaide/ Item yf a man were put to vpon and accuſed to haue layen wyth a mannys wyffe the whiche cas after this lawe yf her huſbād or kynneſman complayne to the iuſtyce is capitall deth that is to ſaye/ wher thy to leſe his hed for the ſame the ſayde lawe will that thys man ſhall mowe deffende hym ſelf by gage of batayll/ Item in likewiſe it is of a mannys doughter beinge yet vndre the rule of her parentes yf they do complayne of ſom man that hathe had feleſhip with her/ though it was with her good wille this lawe will that he deye but yf he deffende hymſelf therof by champ of batayll in cas that the thinge were ſo ſecretly kept that it myght not be proued apenſt hym/ for yf manyfeſte or openly knowen it were/ yf the kynneſmen wyl there were no remedye/ and therfore thys lawe ſhuld ſeme well ſtraūge in Frauncē & in other place that a man ſhuld deie for ſuche a cas ſeeing that it was by the goodwil le of the woman wedded or not wedded & this lawe is vpon ſuche a raiſon foūnded. Where it is trouthe that a man taketh deth by ſentence of the lawe or of iuſtice for to haue cōmitted a ſmal theefte of golde or of ſiluer a rewel or other thynge/ of whiche cas what ſoeuere neceſſite hath brought him therto ſhal not mowe excuſe hym but that iuſtice ſhal

[illegible] hym for vyctorie / yf grace for respect of som pitous
he made / he not to hym compassed & made / Why therme shall he
spared he that hathe dyspoylled & taken alwaye the honoure
& worshyp not onely of a woman alone but of her husband
& of bothe theyre lygnages / & because that where this folkie
that fyrst made & stablysshed thees lawes prayse & sette mo-
che more by worshyp than they dede of golde nor of syluer /
they concluded that yet moche more ought to have deserued
dethe he that robbed another of the forsaid honoure wherbi all
a holl kynrede is reproued / than yf he had taken from them
what somenere other thynge / and therfore som dede saye that
the lawe was yet wel gracyouse & pytouse to them / whan
suche folkie were not more cruelly punysshed / then other that
were worthy of dethe / that is to wite / that hit made hem not
to dye of a more cruel dethe / than for another cas / Another
cas putteth the sayde lawe that shulde seme al ynoughe ay-
enst raysoy / that is to wite that yf a man had holden and
possessed certeyne lyflode house or lande or namely moeuable
goodes the space of yyy yere or more / & that another shulde
accuse hym that throughe euyll & decyuable meanes he had
hit & falsly had possessed hit / that yf this accusar offred to
proue the same onely by his body in chāp of bataille / he shal
be receyued therunto / But without faille not withstanding
thys lawe / I telle the wel / that folysshe is he that suche lawe
acceptith or suche gage / and he that is therunto called / and
that al redy hathe the possessyon in hande / myght answere
thus to that other / Fayre frende / I haue nought a do with
thy gage / fight thy self al alone yf ȳ seme it gode / for I shal
neuer fyght for this cause / soo is there noo lawe that may
gaynsaye hym in this cas / for prescripcion is aproued of al
right / It saithe the said lawe ȳ yf it happed two men to fall

a debate togider & that their question were brought to iuges
mēt where bothe of hem shulde produce or bringe forthe theyr
proues / to this entencyon that yf the one partye wolde
gaynsaie ỹ other & that they colde not accorde/ yf he will ma
ke it goode by proffe of his body/ he shal be receyued/ Itē yf a
man taketh an action vpon another for certeine some of syl
uer or som iewell or of som other moeuable gode whiche as
he saide he lent to his fader or moder/ & that other denyeth him
the same he shall also be receyued ayenst ỹ other to do chāp
of batayll e/ yf he proffreth to make it good by the same mea
ne Itē yf a man hath be brought to losse & domage by fortu
ne of fyre in his hous or in his grange or other thinge / yf
he will proue ayenst another in maniere a forsayde that he ha
the putte the fyre therin / he shalbe herde/ Itē yf a man com
playneth ouer his wyffe that she is noo good woman/ tho
ughe he doo this for a wyle for to close her within a walle or
for to be quytte of her or that she shulde be banysshed from her
dowarye/ she may deffende herof herself / yf she can fynde a chā
pyon that wyl fyght ayenst her husband for her/ & yf the hus
band refuseth hym he shal not be byleued/ Item yf a man
haūteth in the house of a wedded man/ yf the husband will sa
ye that this man hath haūted & haūteth for to haue a doo
wyth hys wyff for to shame her and hym/ thys other man
that so haunteth there may deffende hym ayenst the husbāde
by gage of batayll e/ wherof I doo lawghe conssyderyng suche
a folye/ that yf the felawe that so is accused were gurte and
stronge it were well bestowed yf he fele hym self Innocent
that he sholde bete well & thryftly in the champ that Jalous
& folisshe husband/ Itē yf a man accuseth another ỹ he hathe
pariured hymself in iugemēt he ỹ is so accused may gainsaie
hit as it is sayd/ many other thynges conteyneth ỹ sayd lawe

that concerneth champ of bataille whiche I leue for shortnes of the matiere/ as a thinge not nedefull more for to say/ but so moche it is to be vnderstande that theese batailles are some tyme doon by the principall persones whan a raysonable cas of som lettyng falleth there/ As it were yf a man to yong were accused/ or a man that were to olde/ or a man that had som sikines or that were impotent & coude not help himself & som time a woman and all suche other persones/ the whiche thynges are alle ynoughe expressed & named in the sayde la wes/ And namely yf a bondeman saide that his lorde had made him free of his bonde & seruytude & this he will make goode by his body/ the lorde is not holden to receyue bataille therfore/ but ought to deliuere him a champion/ & more hyt saith that two clerkes of lyke degree may haue leue to be fyght eche other in champ of bataylle of the whiche thinge sauffe her grace I say that she hathe wronge to entremette her self in suche a cas of any man of the chirche for the canon ỹ ought more to be obeyed deffendeth them expresly al maniere of bataylle & violent hurt/ & I aske the yf a man impotent as it is saide may sette for him self sache a chāpion as shall please him/ I answere the/ that the champions that be compyted for another are in this dede of bataille fygured or in fygure of procutours & aduocates of plee/ whiche office euery man may doo for another yf he wyl / yf ryght expresly gaynsayeth it not/ ryght euyn so it is of the champyons/ for who soeuere will he may be one so that right gaynsaie hym not for som cause / For a theeff or som other that tofore had committed som grete euyll or cryme shulde not be receyued therto nor noo man that is knowen of euyll fame/ And the rayson is goode/ That is to witte that yf suche a man entred a champ of bataylle for another and

were vainquished there/ men shulde wene that it had ben for his owne sinnes/ and that therfore he had lost the batayll/

¶ How champ of bataille representeth somwhat pʳoces of pleetyng/ And whether it is of ryght that the champyons shall swere by fore they entre the felde/ Capitulo xj/

BVt how be it that gage of batayll as I haue sayde bi fore be of oure doctours reproued Neuertheles bicause it is a thynge whiche is in vsage in the dedes of noble men & in theexercyce of armes & of knyghthode that suche batayll haue ben & are by the kynges/ prynces & lordes iuged after the ryght that hit can haue whereof the custome shall not yet faylle in all places it is gode for to speke yet therof to the lernynge of thoos that shall most iuge therof/ & semblably of theim that shall vndretake hem/ ffor I holde that the most parte of the noble men/ what that many one speketh of hino we not veray well that whiche is or ought to be conteyned in suche a batayll touchinge thentrepryse/ the doing & the iugemẽt vpon the same/ soo shal I telle the therof/ fyrst thou ought to hinowe/ & it is veray certeyne ꝑ thees particuler batailles shewen by figure natare of iugemẽt for ryght soo as to a iugemẽt is the iuge & he that claymeth action also the defendaũt present/ also is there the forespeker & the proues & after the same folowyth the sentence/ semblabli so is the iuge & lorde in a clos felde tofore whome the bataille is made/ the party playntyf & ꝑ deffendaũt be the two chãpions that fight there togyder/ the witnes & proues ben theire armures & the stroikes ꝑ they giue to eche other by the whiche stroikes & armures either of them forceth him self for to proue best their entẽcion/ & therafter folowyth ꝑ victorie whiche falleth to one of them ꝑ repreſẽteth ꝑ diffinitiue ſẽtence/ maiſter I beſeche the ꝑ thou take not nowe in anger yf I putte interrupcyon

in thy wordes/for a questyon that I will aske of the/by cau
se that I haue herde the saye that the champyons wo sweere
whan they entre the felde &c / Whether it is a thynge ryght
wys that they make eny othe there/ For it shulde seme nay
and it needeth not by cause that in a generall batayille where
two kynges were and theyre folke shulde noon othe be ma-
de/and why thenne shall two persones swere / Dere loue I
answere the/that for to make there theyre othe/it is but the
ryght of suche a batayll/and it is noo goode that that thou
sayst that in grete batailles is noon othe made/ Knowest
thou the cause/ it is by cause that suche grete bataylles are
entrepryse by delyberacyon of a grete counseyl and Juged
of the lordes/soo behoueth there noon othe/ But to suche a
partyculer werre/the prynce can not knowe so wel the certe
nte of the quarelle/and therfore he will take of them theyre
othe vpon that whiche they vndertake to proue by theyre bo
dyes/ Soo calleth hit the lombardyshe lawe/ the hed othe/ &
thys othe that thou knowe/is of the nature of ỹ othe of ca
lengyng whiche ought to be taken atte the begynnyng of al
manere of plee/ where as the party playntyff sweeth that
his action is right wys & goode/ and after that sweeth the
partye deffendaũt that his deffenses be true/and euyn thus
it ought to be doon in a champ of batayll / But to thende
that thou shalte vnderstande/there is a crafte for to take
suche an othe / For yf he that called that other/ sweeth ab
solutly ayenst the other of that thynge whereof he is not wel
certeyne/as thoughe I sweere vpon the holy gospel that thou
hast mordred or made to be murdred my fadre or my brodre
and al weyes he is not therof wel certeyne / For he hathe
not hit wel seen/ but it may be that he shall haue herde saye
the same/or for some colourre he shal haue a suspecyon therof

ſuche ay othe is ſoliſſhly made / For noon ought to ſwere abſolutly for a thinge/ but that by his owne eyen he be ſure and certeyn that it is ſoo/ and for thys cauſe may he his quarell nought/ For he forſweareth hym ſelf yf it be not as he ſayth / But it is other wyſe of the partye deffendaũt/ for he can not be ygnoraunt of the quarelle/ for well he doth knowe yf he be coulpable of the dede or not/ and therfore his quarell is bettre/ in cas that he fele hym ſelf pure & cleue therof / but yf he wilfully doo for ſwere hym ſelf/ muche more is worſe his cauſe than of hym that weneth to ſaye trouthe/ wherfore for to be more certeyn and in ſurete to haue a good quarelle the party playntyf/ that is to ſaye he that calleth that other whiche is party deffendaunt/ ought to ſwere onely without more that he holdeth ſtedfaſtly & bileueth that that other hathe kylde his fader/ or hathe doon to hym thynurye wherfore he calleth hym to bataylle/ & by theſame ſhall his quarell be the bettre/ Soo ought he for to ſaye biforе the prynce / the cauſe why he his ſo moeuyd and the maneре of the cas/ & the prince therupon ought to be wyſe for to ſee and aduyſe by the circonſtances/ yf this that he ſaith may be true or not/ for yf the cryme or myſdede had be doon the day afore nyght the partie of Byeenes/ and that he that of the ſame is accuſed colde brynge true prowes that all that day he was ferre thens/ he ought not to gyue noo feyth to ſuche callyng upon that whiche were impoſſible/ ſo ought the prynce therfore wel to aduiſe that the quarelle be iuſte or ener that he iugeth hit acceptable and not to here all them that calle other thrugh folyſh moeuynges and dotyng opynyons/ For many there be ſo litell wiſe that they wolde folyſhly expoſe hem ſelf to theſame for noo cauſe atte all/ or for litel occaſion / and they ſhulde wene that it were a fayre dede doon of hem bicauſe of theire

lytyl conſyderacyon / And it is noo pyte whan it falleth euyl to them/but of that other partye is compaſſion for they muſt deffende hem ſelf/and yf they doo it not after the vſe of armes men ſhulde gyue hem blame and dyſworſhyp ther fore/ye after thoppynyon of the yong folk not wiſe in this caas/And I aſke of the/yf yt happed that bothe the parties wolde be fyght eche other in a playne felde/ or ellis without the preſence of the prynce/ſhulde he ſuffre it I telle the/ nay/ For it is a thinge whereof the knowlege longeth vnto him for to gyue hys Jugement vpon the ſame / and ayenſt the prynce in this caas/may not theyre owne wille make noo prouydence/but that the ſayde lorde or he that is commytted and ordeyned and alſo they that muſt kepe hem/muſte be there preſent by cauſe they ſhal be there ſure of all other perſonnes nor noo man in the worlde ought not to ſay there noo thyng vpon peyne to be gretly ſhent without it be by the kynge or prynces maundement that ought to iuge att latter ende whiche of bothe is ouercome or vyctoryouſe/

¶ Aſkieth ypryſtyne/yf it hap that one of the two champyons leſe ſom of his armes be it ſwerde or other thynge/ whether men ought of ryght to ſee hit reſtored ayen to him

¶ Item whiche of bothe/ought to enuahyſhe fyrſt / Item yf the kyng pardonne hym that is ouercome / Whether the vyctoryouſe may aſke hym the coſtes that he hathe doon &c

¶ Capitulo /xj/

Qayſer I aſke/yf it falle ſoo betwene two champyons that befyght eche other within a clos felde/that the one of hem breketh the ſwerde or the aye of that other/

or caſteth hit ouere the palk/ For I holde well wyth all that they doo the woꝛſte that they can one tyl other / ſuppoſed that thys man had none nother aye/dagger noꝛ mayle noꝛ noo weapen to deffende hym wyth all / Whether by rayſon men ſhulde delyuere to hym other harneyſe deffenſable/ For ſyn it is in the manere that thou haſt ſayde/ that is to wyte that the armures Inuaſyble and alſo deffenſable are fygured and taken for wyttnes and proues woꝛſe wyth all men may helpe hym ſelf in plee & c̃/ It ſhulde ſeme that men ought to delyuere and yelde hem new harneys ayen/ yf they require to haue hit / For yf it were ſo that for to proue good myn intencyon I had produced and brought ſom wytneſſes whi che I ſuppoſe ſhulde faille me by dethe or other wiſe I may yet bryngе forth many moo/ Why thẽne/ yf this champion hath not nowe proue hys intẽcyon by the ſame ſwerde or other weapen of hys/ may not he haue another/ Fayre loue ſoothe for ſaye/ after the rayſon of ſuche ryght as he alwayteth ther to/ a grete conſyderacyon ought to be had here for to inge of the ſame/ For a grete dyfference is there yf the ſwerde is by aduenture falle from hys hande/ or yf that other hathe taken hit fro hym or broken or caſt out of the clos/ or yf by folyſh nes he ſhulde leſe hit/ and lykewyſe of hys other harneyſe But yf the ſwerde by aduenture brake by the ſtrokes that he hym ſelf ſhulde gyue wyth all/ and not by the effort or ſtrengthe of hys aduerſarye and that he had nomore weapen for to deffende hym ſelf/ and that by ſuche manere he had loſt it all/ Without faylle ſom mayſters ſayen that men ſhulde do hym wrong but ỹ they ſholde gyue him other harneyſe/ but ſelden it happeth a man to entre in to a clos felde wythout that he be garnyſſhed wyth moo weapens than one / ſoo may he helpe hym ſelf wythe that one whan that other is loſt or

sayllethe: Nowe sire: and yf it hap that the iuge can not kno
we the fyrst daye whiche of bothe is ouercome are they bol
den to retourne the mowwe after/ I telle the certeynly that
ye yf it be in theyre powere/so that they haue enterpriſed to
be fyghte eche other atte theyre vttermooſt hynderaūce in cas
that noon other condycyon were not ſett afore/So can thei
not be aſſoylled nor quyte vnto the tyme that the one of
them be ouercome though that it taryе neuer ſo longe/reſer
ued al waies the comaundement of the pryncе contrary to
the ſame/ or that they ſhulde accorde hem ſelf togyder by ma
undement of the kynge/ For other wyſe they may not doo
it after that they be ones entred within the felde/ But the
pryncе ought to be pitrouſe vpon theſame hauing mercy of
thees two men that be not onely in parell of bodyly lyf and
worſhip but alſo in Jeopardye of theyre ſowles/ Telle me
pet maſter & teche me whiche of bothe ought fyrſt to ſmite
the fyrſt ſtroke whan they bothe two be within the felde/ For
I haue not forgoten that thou ſaideſt here byfore /that thys
maneре of bataylle holdeth in party the nature of a plee/
Wherby it ſemeth that he that calleth that other ought to be
gynne fyrſt to ſmyte/ For ſo moche I woote well of the ma;
nere of a plee where as I haue often aſſayed hit and hathe
coſt me/ that he that is actoure/that is to wyte / partye pla;
yntyf gyueth and ſheweth firſt hys actyon and demaunde
and after the partye deffendaunt anſwereth therupon /and
bycauſe that in this doyng here yf he that is accuſed ſhulde
ſmyte fyrſt/ thenne ſhulde he ſeme to be partye playntyf and
not partye deffendaunt/ For it is noo deffenſe that cometh
afore the ſtroke/but it is offenſe / dere loue holde well that
thy raiſons ben conſonaunte/ Neuertheleſſe it behoueth to be
doon here in thys caas by another maneре of waye/than as

a plee is reuoked where as it is there exployted by wordes and here by waye of dede/ And therfore/ where as a man is in parell of deth he ought not to abyde after the fyrst stroke For suche a stroke myght be so heuy and so grete/ that to late he shulde come for to deffende himself/ And also alle ynough hathe begynne fyrst of all he that calleth the other whan he fyrst dede caste hys gage for to be fyght that other in a champ of bataylle/ And yf att a iugement the playntyf she wyth fyrst his actyon/ it is but by wordes wherof is gode chep ynoughe/ or by a lytel wrytynge/ So is it not so parel louse a lybelle or a rolle as is a stroke of an axe or of a swerde And after that they be ones closed in bothe togyder / that men haue escryed them that eyther of them doo hys deuoyre and his best/ nother of them careth not how grete hurt that he doeth to his foo/ And therfore I telle the that in thys cas after all rayson be it by wylynesse/ cawtele/ barate/ witte/ apertyse or strengthe or by euy other manere of wyse/ sin that they be so coupled togyder/ he that is appeled may be the fust that stryketh/ yf he can haue leyser so to doo for hys ease/ and in all poyntes to take hys aduauntage yf he can or may doo soo/ But trouthe it is that he muste tary tyl that other be marched ayenst hym fro hys place one paas or two/ or ellis that he haue made semblaunt for to come towardys hym/ Itē yet ageyne another questyon I aske of the/ I take that the kynge that thus beholdeth and seeth two champyons fyghtyng togider/ haue pitee vpon hym which is to the poynt brought that he muste be ouercome and dyscomfyted soo commaundeth the kynge to calle and crye/ ho/ ho/ whiche as muche is for to saye/ nomore/ nomore/ by hys connestable/ and that not withstandyng the same/ he that hathe the better of the felde requyreth ỳ kynge for to doo admynystracyon of iustice

& that he wyll Iudge the ryght for hym/ the kynge anſwereth &
ſaith/ I adiuge vnto the honoure & the victorye of the bata
ylle/ and I pardone to that other/ for ſo is my pleaſyr for to
be doo/ thys may afflieth hys coſtes & expenſes/ ought he to
haue hem or not/ for it myght ſeme/ that nay/ becauſe that the
kyng hathe not condẽpned that other in the ſame whiche al-
ſo hathe not confeſſed the dede as a man that is ouercome/ I
anſwere yͤ/ that yf he were vtterly ouercome/ though that the
kyng ſhuld pardone hym the debate the whiche thinge lieth
in his payſſance/ he may not doo therfore noo wronge to the
partye that right hertily requyred hym for iuſtice/ but yf it be
ſo that men calle/ ſo/ biforne that he be all attẽpted & in al po
ynctes ouercome/ he is not holden therunto/ for howe be it he ha
the the worſe of the bataylle/ yet hathe he not confeſſed yͤ thig
wherynne lieth the verray victorie that longeth to the vycto
rious/ that is to wete whan he maketh that other for to cõ
feſſe himſelf gylty of the dede/ & alſo he myght yet haue a hope
that ſom ſtrok myght be yet gyuen/ that ſhuld hapli ſlee him
that trauayleth to haue the better of the batayll/ as it hathe be
ſeen dyuerſe tymes/ that he that was vnder/ ſmote that other
that ſo held hym/ ſo ſtrongly with a dagger or ſom knyf that
he ſlewe hym ſtrak ded/ for a fayt of batayll what that it ſe
meth yͤ reaſon can not be godly iuged vnto tyme yͤ it be brought
atte an ende/ and fayre ſhewe manifeſtly/ yf hit happed that it
were fonde onces that ſom body in ſuche a caas had accuſed a
nother wrongfully of murdre or of ſom other cryme/ what
ſhuld be don of the accuſar/ Wythout fayll oure maſ-
ters determyned/ that men ſhal doo that punicion vpon him
as the caas gaffe for to be doo vpon that other yf he had be
truly attẽpted therof

¶ She aſketh yf whan a man is punyſhed by champ of

batayll̃e of ſom̃ myſdede/whether the Juſtice hath̃e nyā more to doo with him̃ or not in this byhalfe/ ¶ Capitulo/viij/

YEt ayen I aſke/a man calleth another to champ of batayll̃e for to make goode vpon his body/ that he is falſly forſworne/and ſo it happeth that he ouercometh him̃ And gyueth to hym̃ the punicion accordyng the cas/It happeth afterward/that for the ſame cas/he his troubled & attached by the iuſtice/ought this man to be iuged & punyſhed more than ones of one ſelf cas/for it ſhulde not ſeme that it were ryght/nor god wil not of it nor holy ſcripture accordeth not to theſame that a body ſhulde be thys condẽpned for one ſinne/Fayre loue herto I ſhal anſwere the what that the excuſacions that thou makeſt be goode & namely many other for the partye that is accuſed/ that other partye myght anſwere/We are nowe in court of ryght worthy/by the whiche ought to be iuged of the caſes that requyren punycion/ but where gage of batayll̃e is not aproued by noo ryght writon it ſuffiſeth not/For ſuppoſed that by ſuche alwaye he hathe ben corrected/it is therfore noo punyſhyon/For iuſtice hathe nought̃e ſeen therof and noon other thynge it is as to conſyderacyon of ryght/but as yf it were ſo/ that the fader had bete his childe for cauſe of ſom̃ treſpace that he had doon whiche correccyon ſhulde not ſuffyſe/nor iuſtice ſhulde not leue hym̃ therfore to punuſſhe hym̃ other wyſe/ Soo ſhal I telle the after thees two altercacyons the trouthe therof/ Wete thou for veray certeyn/that yf it had be ſoo that the daye had be deferred ſo longe betwyx thaccuſar/and he that was accuſed/and that in thys meane whyle the cas had come to the knowlage of the iuſtice/I doo the well to wyte/that not withſtandyng thẽterpryſe of the ſayde batayll̃e iuſtice may punyſſhe hym̃/yf it be a thing that can be proued/ But yf

thou aſke me whether after the punicion he had he holden to kepe the day of the felde/I ſhulde anſuere the nay/For what ryght coude he haue for to deffende hym ſelf of the dede whiche: of he is al redy conuyct and attaynted/But yf it be ſoo that the prynce/or he that kepte was of the felde/had punyſſhed hym of thys myſdede/or that he had remytted hit to hym or pardoned what ſoeuere it were/without fayle thauctorite of the prince is ſo grete that this cuſtome aprouued to proue by chāp of bataylle & to punyſſhe by ſuche maner of waye they that be attaynted/that it ought well to ſuffiſe/that he be punyſſhed onces & no more/ (Nor the princes & lordes ſhuld not ſuffre to reuoque nor calle ayen theire ſentēces/maiſter yf thou be not to wery that ſo muche I doo enquyre of thys matyere/telle me yet aworde to this propos/A knyght accuſeth another & calleth hym to bataylle/and ſyn repenteth hym that he hathe doon ſoo/may thys knyght repente hym or not atte his owne wylle yf he wyl & that noo more be ſpoken nor nothinge made of that that he hathe ſaid/For verely it ſholde ſeme/that he myght well calle ayen his worde fro theſame ſeeyng that yf a man accuſeth another or ſaith euyll by hym by haſtyneſſe or wrathe he may well repente hym therof yf he will without more makyng a doo as me ſemeth/nor he ſhal not be by the Juſtyce impoſed nor ſett therfore to that pryne that he ſhulde here for theſame yf he proceded forthe/ferthermore/and why therme ſhulde it not be ſoo in thys cas/To thys I anſuere that yf a gentylman calleth another by caſtyng to hym his gage For what ſomeuere that it be in thabſence of hys lorde or of the conneſtable or mareſchal or of ſom other Juge alle and competent/and that after thys he doo repente hym ſelf therfore bycauſe/as it may wel be/that he was euyll informed/or elles chaffed for anger or malencolie/or

haply for takyng of ouere moche voyne/this thynge by gode meanes may lightly ynough be temytted in a manere that to that other ought to suffyse not to make selde vpon hym for the said callyng/ For noon ought to be ouer sharp nor to hold vpon thesame where it is a thynge daũgewuse wher by grete perell may fall whatsoeuer gode ryght that a man hathe/seeynge also that that other recreyueth shame/all ynough for to repente hym self of the castynge of his gage and to be so holed of the bataylle/by the whiche his folysshe moeuynge he hathe shewed well that he was not wyse/ For an ouer grete shame it is and a foleye of a lytyll wytte for to casse hym self so ferre in wordes/that he musse nedes afterward to gaynesaye hys owne worde/ Neuertheles it is more bettre for to repente of a folye byfore that it be executed or made/than for to entre with an euyll quarelle in to a champ of bataylle/ nor it is noo vyce for to repente hym self of the eeyll/but it is a grete synne and folye for to vndre take and make yt in dede/ But in caas that the wordes were goon so ferre forthe/that by force the prynce or his connestable or Marrsschall or som other able for to recreue hym/ That had casse hys gage of bataylle/ he shulde not molde repente hym self therof wythout the wylle of the prynce and assentyng of the partye/ the whyche by reason myght alle amende/ ¶ For to the purpos that I telle the byfore that champ of bataylle folowyth the wayes of plee/soo doethe represente thys gage the bataylle that men gyue atte the ingyng of a cause/after the whyche he that gyueth hit/ musse purselue hys quarelle yf the partyes accorden not togyder/ But well it is trouthe/ that the prynce/syn that he that calleth repenteth hym self/ oughte to be a large

forgyuer to thoos that repente themself / as god and holy
scrypture requyreth/
¶ Here deuyseth of the thynges/that a prynce oughte to see
vnto byfore that he shall iuge a champ of batayll̃e/ And
how men ought̃e to gyue counseyl to them that muste fe3ght
eche other/ ¶ Capitulo / xiij/

The batayll̃es of a clos felde wherof thou hast̃e deuy
sed that nowe ley in vsage in many landes/and haue
be longe tyme past / as for to saye in all the worlde so that
the custome hath suffred them/notwithstandyng the deffen
se of the decre and of the ryght canonall/as thou sayst/is
tourned as to a lawe/me semeth that a strounge thynge itis
to the prynces for to iuge and determyne well of the causes
that suche batayll̃es requyren/For it is noo doubte/but that
the lordes desyre and wyl/that ryght be doo to euery man/ &
therfore they suffre suche a batayll̃e to be doo / to thende that
the causes that ley obscure and hidd may be therby attain:
ted and knowen Dere loue thy wordes ley of trouthe with
out fayll̃e/And therfore affermyng that . that thou saist/
that the Jugement of suche a batayll̃e is ryght parylloust̃e &
subtyll:it playseth me.for the doctryne and techynge of the
noble men to the whiche ende thou doest̃ labourr in thys boke
to putte here & declare som rules that must̃ be kept vpon this
matyere : the first rule is this:that noo prince seculer to thꝫ
de be doo not amis:al be he neuer so prudēt nor so wise what
soeuer gode counseyl of wise knyghts & other seculer men ẏ he
haue ought̃ not iuge noo champ of batayll̃e/without the re
garde & counseyl of the sage men of lawe/bi cause that of al
causes that may hap to fal/they can determyne muche bettre
than other folkie/For theyre connyng shewth & techeth them

theſame/ſoo appartey̆neth to them for to declare of the cauſes what therof is to be doo/and whether it is a thynge reprouable/forbodey̆/condēpned or approued & comendable/ Or whether one cauſe be preuyleged biforn another/& that thys be true/that ſuche folie whan they ben expert/can determyne therof better/than other doo/the lawe cyuyll doo graūte the ſame/the whiche ſaith that the aduocates are protectours & rulers of al humayne folke/yet is there another raiſon why̆ by it behoueth vnto them for to determine of theſame byfore all other men/It is by cauſe that knyghtes & other gentyl men are ſooner moeued for to ſwere a fayt of armes/than clerkes be/& this cometh to them of a ſtatute that they haue amonge hem̄ that they ſhal repute & take a man for dishonnoured & aſhamed/without that he ſoone acceptith the gage of him̄ that caſteth hit vnto him̄/whiche is an opinyon ỹ is moeued as to this be halue ſauf theire reuerence without eny̆ regarde of raiſon/for leſſe worſhip ſhuld be after ryght to him̄ that ſhuld gyue or accepte a gage of batayle for a litel cauſe or occaſyon or for folyſhe and nyce moeuynge/than to hym̄ that ſhulde refuſe yt/ For without faylle it is noo dyſſworſhip/but rather the contrarye/ For to refuſe & not conſent to eny̆ folyſhe entrepryſe/ſpecyally where as ſo dere a catell hangeth in parell/as is bothe the ſowle and the body̆ And myght ſaye he that is aſſaylled and called/My frende Yf thou lyſte for to fyght/ Soo fyght thon thenne by thyſelf al one/ For as for me I wyl not be partener of thy̆ folye/The ſeconde rule that the prynce ought̃e to kepe in this byhalfe it is/that thoughe a gentyl man ſhulde accepte the gage of another/ that haply were moeued ayenſt hym̄ for ſom̄ malyce or for fauoure or for ſom̄ prydefull wylle cauſed with enuye/two wyng to ouercome and putte hym̄ vnder

& he to be the better enhaunsed for the same/ or for what for-
meuere other moeuyng without rayson/the prynce or his lt
eutenaũt oughte to aduyse demeurely herupon for to here &
vnderstande wel the wordes & the maniere of hym that cal-
leth that other/ For som there be that wyl colourc ryght vn
dre a falasse by theyre grete wordes & are so folysshe that they
wolde for to begyle god/but this al to gider falleth vpon hem
self/with the same the prynce ought also to conſydere well
what the cauſe is that moeuyth hym therunto/& what ma
niere of thynge it is/that he putteth vpon the other/And yf
it be soo that he ſaith that it is for dette / the prynce or som
other for hym/ ought to aſke for what a cauſe is the dewte
due vnto hym/in what lande & in what place it was made
whether he hathe writynge or witnes therof or not / & yf it
hap that it be perceyued that aparence of som proffe be there
or som coulourc whereby ryghtewyſe iugement can be had/he
ought to compette the cauſe in arbytrage /for in ſuche a cas a
man myght not by right ſuſteyne nor ſaye ỹ/therfore ſhuld
champ of bataylle be made/ The /iij/ rule is/that the prynce
ought to make hym that calleth that other/for to propoſe by
fore hys perſone/the cauſe of thaction ỹ he hathe ayenſt that
other/and also in lyke wyſe/to ſee that the partye deffenda
unt be there examyned in preſence of his coũſeyl where as
shalle as it is ſaid the beſt men of lawe/and there it ought
to be ſeen & full well dyſcuted and duely ſerched whether the
partye plaintyf hath iuſte cauſe or not/and there ſhal euery
man ſaye herupon hys opynyon / After whyche thynge yf
it be founde soo that the cauſe be moeuyd by pride preſumpcion
or folye/ as who ſhalde ſaye/ I wol proue my body ayenſt
hys to the dethe in a champ of bataylle for to gete worſhyp/
or for the loue of myn owne lady/ or that ſhe is fayrer/than

hys is/& ſuche other dyuers maners of folye/ Soon ought
to be putte abacke thys thynge and not to be herde/ and to for
bede that therof be not ſpoken more / And yet more I ſaye/
that for whatſomeuer wordes of iniurie ỹ it be/ yf they ben
ſaide in any angre/ or in hete by ſuſpecyon or malencolye and
that be ayenſt whom ſuche wordes haue ben/ whyl fyght for
hit/ there ought not to be iuged noo batayll/ whythout that
he that hathe ſaide them wolde mayntein ſtyll the ſame and
wolde fyght in thys quarell/ To the whiche thinge/ yf it ſo
happed/ yet ſhulde mẽ pryne hẽſelf for to modre & praſe eche
of hem without batayll/ whiche by noo whyſe/ as it is ſaid
ought not to be enterpriſed nor ſuffred to be made nor iuged
without any ouer grete fawte/ cauſe the ſame to be doo / but
ought to be forboden and letted aſmuche as men can / But
yf it be ſoo that the matere be grete and peyſaunt/ as it were
for trayſon/ for murdre or for ſom grete wyolence doon / and
that the partye playntyf can not proue ne ſhewe the ſame
but by proue of his owne body/ and ỹ the party deffendyng
can not ſuffiſauntly excuſe hymſelf/ but that he is gylty the-
rof/ thenne thus as it is ſaid/ by thynſpectyon & conſentyng
of al the counſeyl/ ought the pryncr to iuge the batayll after
that the lawe in ſuche a cas requyreth the whiche is ſuche/
that aſſoone as it is iuged / though that many one ben ſo
proud of hemſelf/ that they truſte in noone other thynge/
but oneli in their bodyly ſtrengthe/ and care nother of god
nor of his help yet ought to be there commytted ſom whyſe
men/ that ſhall ſhewe to them the grete parell bothe of
the ſowle and of the body wherynne they doo putte hem
ſelf / And that they aduyſe and ſee wel and that they whyl
calle vnto them ſom whyſe confeſſours for to be ſhryuen
and that they aduyſe and ſee wel to them ſelf and that they

of them/that they may be in good astate/and that they calle vnto god to help theyre parte/ For grete nede they shal haue therof atte laste/and thus oughte the sayde voysemen to exor te and admoneste them/eythre of hem by hym self/ shewyng vnto them how thys thynge is full heuy and grete in vohy: che they muste dey/ or elles suffre grete dyshonour & shame so aduyse he and see well to for hym self/that he come not to late for to repente therof/and all suche thynges that hey ode lothe for the folke and for the body ought the confessour to see that he can wel telle and shewe vnto hym that he shal shryue/and to admoneste hym truly/ not leuynge hym atte the ende of the thynge vohere he mystreth moost to be wel co ũseylled/specyally in tournoys of armes that in suche a cas hey conenable/as well to assayle/as to deffende/and this for to do/that is to vnite for to gyue counseyl there to bothe the partyes as wel to the one/as to the other/certeyne knyghtes oughte to be assigned vnto them / that shal be expert & voyse in suche arte and connynge

¶ Asketh Crystyne vohether a bataylle may be doon vpon a holy day after ryght/ and vohether it is taken in ryght that a may of armes may saue his folke/And yf clerkes may goo to vherre or not/

¶ Capitulo/xiiij

Qvister nolde telle me yf a bataylle be it general or spe cyal/may be doon after ryght vorithon vpon a holy day. For to me shulde seme that nay/seeyng that the festyual da yes be ordeyned for to serue god onely/and it is noo seruyce applichied nor doon to god for to fyght in a felde one ayenst another/vohithout faille my loue/ of this propos/ ỹ shalte fide in the aũcyent testamẽt. holde it vvas permytted of god vnto ỹ children of israel that vpon vvhat soeuer day ỹ men shulde com vpon them/ that they shulde deffende hem self/ & that they

ſhulde yſſue out for to gyue batayll̃e / Therfore I telle the that for cauſe of neceſſyte men may well ſom tyme make a felde vpon a holy daye/that is to wyte in caas that men were aſſayll̃ed/ But wythout fayll̃e for to vndertake a day of batayll̃e vpon a holy day/it is not well don/nor it appertayneth not / though that at thys day ben the cryſten peple of ſo feble and ſo lytyll feyth/and of ſo lytyll reuerence to-ward ardys god and to hys ſayntes/that men of of armes ma-kien noo force ſoo that they ſee theyre aduauntage/for to ryde/ſcarmyſſhe/ſteele/and to goo forthe to the pyllage and robberye/aſwell vpon an Eſtirday/or the good Fryday/or vpon ſom other grete and ſolempne day / as vpon other dayes/the wheche thynge ought not by noo maner to be doon/without that grete nede conſtrayneth therto / or that this be doon for a grete goode to the comon vtylyte/I demaũ-de of the mayſter yf we oughte to kepe & holde / that a man of armes may ſaue hys ſowle in exercetyng thoffyce of ar-mes/For a grete doubte myght be caſte herto/ſeeyng the gre-te euyll̃es that neceſſaryly behoueth hem for to doo/and alſo he that deyeth in wyll̃e and deſyre for to greue or hurt hys neyghboure/gooth not a good aduaye / Soo ſemeth to me that ſuche is the deſyre of men of warre that goo in armes ayenſt theyre ennemyes/Whiche wold god that men ſholde leue/ Hold thenne myght he be ſaued that deyeth ſo there/ Doughter I ſhall anſwere the ſhortly / thre concluſyons/ The fyrſt/that wythout doubte/after that the decree decla-reth/the knyght or the man of armes/that deyeth in the war-re ayenſt them of cuyl byleue/for thenhaũſing of the feyth of Jhu Criſte/ſoo that he be repentyng & ſory for his ſinnes/he goeth ſtrayght as a martyr vnto heuen: The ſeconde that yf a man of warre deyeth in a batayll̃e growonded vpon

a iuste and gode quarelle/for to help the ryght/or that hit be
for the true deffense of the lande/or for the comon wele/or for
to kepe the fraunches and good customes of the place or cou
trey/but yf som other synne letteth hym/ his sowle is not a
greued but a right gret merite he hathe therby/& suche may
the cas and the quarelle be that he goeth right forthe in to
paradyse by and by/And it is determyned that he that expo
seth his lyffe for to deffende iustyce/deyeth well a good dethe
as it is for to fyght in a iuste quarelle for his kynge or prin
ce/for the countrey and for the peple/whiche his a meritory-
ouse dede/But the thirde conclusyon is contrary to the same
that is to wite/that yf a man deye in a bataille whiche were
ayenst hys conscyence/that is to wite/that he shuld thynke/
that the quarelle were not goode/and that it were wrong but
for to Vsurpe and take the ryght from another/& that shuld
care for noone other/but that he may robbe and take and ge
te his wages/without faylle yf suche a man hathe noo ley-
ser to haue repentaūce at hys last endyng we coude not pre
sume that he were in waye of salvacyon/ Late therfore lie-
re hem wel that therto putten hem self/ For bothe the body &
the sowle they putte in grete parevll/yf they doo gyue hem
self for to susteyne a false quarelle/And to this ought stra
unge souldyours to take gode hede/But many there be that
make noo force of the quarelle/ soo that they be well payed
of theyre wages/and that they may wel robbe/ But suche
folkie doon moche worse/& are lesse to be excused/than he thoo
whome it behoueth/be it right or wronge / Upon peyne of lo-
syng of theyre landes/to be with theyre naturell and soue-
rayne lorde/holde be it/that they ought with all theyre pow
er/yf they dide fele that theyre lorde had wrong to putte hem
self in peyne and in her deuoyre for to lette and dysmoeue the

Werre thou haſt ſpoken ryght well gode mayſter/ but I pra
ye the telle me / yf clerkes or men of holy chyrche/ oughten
or may go goo to a batayll without that they ſhal myſpri
ſe hem ſelf/ I telle the that ouwe doctours maken hem of many
queſtyons/ & after the oppynyon of ſom/ they may goo with
deffenſable armes and not invaſible/ that is to wite/ as to a
cas of deffenſe/ and not for to envayſhe/ And other ſayen/
that they ought not to come out of theyre place for noo ma
nere a cas/ but onely is permytted to them the deffenſe of the
cyte / fortres or manoyre where they be in vpon the walles
or at ſom wyndowes for to deffende hem ſelf with gode ſto-
nes & with ſuche ſtaues as they haue without ſhot of pwn
and other ſayen that they may vſe of al manere of armes
aſwell without forthe/ as within and not tary tyl they hem
ſelf be envahiſſed/ for a man muſt ſomtyme offende another
yf he wyl ſaue hym ſelf/ and not abyde that he be offēded/ for
ſuche myght be the taryenge that men ſhuld come to late for
to putte remedye therunto/ another oppynyon is holden that
atte the maundement of the pope whiche is ſouerayn above
all clerkes/ they may doo bothe the one and the other/ And
other ſeyen that the byſſhopes & other clerkes that iurydſpc
tyons of landes and of iuſtyce doo kepe and holde of the prin
ces/ as of the kynge of Fraunce holden many prelates their
temporalytees/ are holden for to goo to the werre with theire
lorde/ yf he wyl/ and by eſpecyall ſuche prelates as be of the
peres of Fraūce/ the whiche may well ſaye to the men of
werre/ that they take folke and putte hem in pryſon/ but not
that they ſhalle ſlee noone/ For thenne irregulers they wer
re/ And by noo manere it appertayneth hem not for to ſmite
nor fyght with any man: but yf men wolde ſmyte vpon hem
For there nys biſſhop nor prelat/ but that he may deffende

& iuste and gode quarelle/for to help the ryght/or that hit be
for the true deffense of the lande/or for the comon wele/or for
to kepe the fraunches and good customes of the place or cou
trey/but yf som other synne letteth hym/ his sowle is not a
greued but a right gret merite he hathe therby/& suche may
the cas and the quarelle be that he goeth right forthe in to
paradyse by and by/ And it is determyned that he that expo
seth his lyffe for to deffende iustyce/deyeth well a good dethe
as it is for to fyght in a iuste quarelle for his kynge or pri
ce/for the countrey and for the peple/whiche his a meritory:
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that is to wite/that yf a man deye in a bataille whiche were
ayenst hys conscyence/that is to wite/that he shuld thynke/
that the quarelle were not goode/and that it were wrong but
for to vsurpe and take the ryght from another/& that shuld
cause for noone other/but that he may robbe and take and ge
te his wages/without faylle yf suche a man hathe noo ley:
ser to haue repentaūce at hys last endyng we coude not pre
sume that he were in waye of salvacyon/ Late therfore lie:
re hem wel that therto putteth hem self/ For bothe the body &
the sowle they putte in grete parcyll/yf they doo gyue hem
self for to susteyne a false quarelle/ And to this ought stra
unge souldyours to take gode hede/ But many there be that
make noo force of the quarelle/ soo that they be well payed
of theyre wages/and that they may wel robbe/ But suche
folkie doon moche worse/& are lesse to be excused/than be thoo
whome it behoueth/be it right or wronge / vpon peyne of lo:
syng of theyre landes/to be with theyre naturell and soue:
rayne lorde/howe be it/that they ought with all theyre pow
er/yf they dide fele that theyre lorde had wrong to putte hem
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ſe hemſelf/I telle the that oure doctours maken hereof many
queſtyons/& after the oppynyon of ſom/they may goo with
deffenſable armes and not inuaſible/that is to wite/as to a
cas of deffenſe/and not for to enuayſhe/ And other ſayen/
that they ought not to come out of theyre place for noo ma
nere a cas/but onely is permytted to them the deffenſe of the
cyte / fortres or manoyre where they be in Upon the walles
or at ſom wyndowes for to deffende hem ſelf with gode ſto-
nes & with ſuche ſtaues as they haue without ſhot of pwn
and other ſayen that they may Uſe of al manere of armes
aſwell without forthe/as within and not tary tyl they hem
ſelf be enuahiſhed/for a man muſt ſomtyme offende another
yf he wyl ſaue hym ſelf/and not abyde that he be offēded/for
ſuche myght be the taryenge that men ſhuld come to late for
to putte remedye therunto/another oppynyon is holden that
atte the maundement of the pope whiche is ſouerayn aboue
all clerkes/they may doo bothe the one and the other/ And
other ſeyen that the byſſhopes & other clerkes that iuryd-
tyons of landes and of iuſtyce doo kepe and holde of the prin
ces/as of the kynge of Fraunce holden many prelates their
temporalytees/are holden for to goo to the werre with theire
lorde/yf he wyl/and by eſpecyall ſuche prelates as be of the
peres of Fraūce/the whiche may well ſaye to the men of
werre/that they take folke and putte hem in pryſon/but not
that they ſhalle ſlee noone/ For thenne irregulers they wer
re/ And by noo manere it appertayneth hem not for to ſmite
nor fyght with any man:but yf men wolde ſmyte Upon hem
For there nys biſhop nor prelat/but that he may deffende

hym selfe Justely / in case that he were first enuahyssed without that he were irregulier therfore / namely yf he slewe som body / but for to saie that men of the chyrche shalle armed to fyghte / nor specyalli they to be in a felde / this is not of rigfte ¶ Beggynneth to spekie of the manere of armorye / whether euery man may take armes atte hys voylle / ¶ Capi°. xvij.

After without faylle I see and knowe that more gre: te is thy voyde in concludyng & soyllyng properly to the trouthe all questyons / than myght be the Importunytee of myn ignorance in reformyng of dyuerse argumentes / & where al ynoughe may suffyse / wythout I trauayle the ony more / that whicke thou hast declared to me of the ryght of armes / yet a woorde yf it please the / for to make me wyse of som thynges that al ynoughe doo depende of the precedentes that is to wyte of the ryghtes of armes after the whicke demaundes / bycause it shal not thynke to the ouer longe I shal take ay ende in concludyng my tokie vpon thesame / Je is that thou telle me of the fayte of the badges / armes / banners and penonalles that lordes and gentylmen haue and be acustomed for to weere and to doo them to be paynted & sette vpon theyre garementes whether enery man may take and bere them atte his owne voylle / Dere loue / of thees armes that by nobleste were fyrst founde by cause that the lorde in a batayle myght be knowen by his armes and entre: synes / I shal answere to the / thou oughtest thene to knowe that in thees armes as for to saye in general ben there thre dyfferences / whether the somme were made & ordeyned of olde tyme for the state of the dygnytees / and not for the perso: nes nor for theyre lygnage / as is the sygne of the Egle the whicke is deputed for the dygnyte Imperyal / wherfore who someuere is emperour ought to bere the same / Item another

mānere of armes there be of office / lyke as we saye Ca-
pytelers of Tholouse / the whiche durynge theyre offyces
doo here armes the whiche ben of olde deputed and ordeyned
for thesame office / Semblably the Consules of Mountpelly-
er / where namely yf eny assemble were there made of armes /
noone other armes they myght not here but suche as ben de-
puted to theyre offyce of consulate / wythout that they wold
be rebuked for / and they shulde not be suffred / Semblably
in dyuerse places ben appropred one manere of armes / Ite
the seconde dyfference of armes / Is of suche as come purely
by succession of lynage vnto kynges / dukes / marquyses / er-
les and other lordis / lyke as the Flourdelyse for the house of
Fraūce / the Lupardes for the house of Englond / and of al
other kynges / and in likewise of other lordes lesser / as is the
Ermyne for the duk of bretayne / the white crosse of sil
uere for the Erle of Sauoye / & thus of other lordes be it
Dukes / marqueses / Erles / or other of whens that they be / &
of thoos specyally ought noon to take theyre armes / & yet
maist thou see / that men sholde al weyes the hed of the lord
ship by cause he bereth the playne armes of thesame with
out difference / & thoo that are of his linage they putte
theunto dyuerse dyfferences / And semblably it is of the other
barons / & of al gentylmen in likewise / soo telle I to ỹ well
that of ryght & rayson / noone ought to presume hymself for
to take eny thinge of the armes of gentylmen nother for to
here any thinge semblable / nor namely one gētylman of an
other gentylmans armes / without that it be soo / that he can
shewe that of old tyme they be or haue ben longyng to his
predecessours or that som lord had gyuen som bēde or quarter
or som other part of his armes to him or to his predecessours
for thus might he wel here hem without that the kynrede or

other myght chalenge him for the same/for to diuerse barõs
knyghtes & gentylmen haue ben gyuen the armes that they
bere or suche differences as be there of olde tyme past by some
princes or grete lordis/wherfore they ought not to be taken
by noon other/as it is said/But it is well trouthe/that yf it
happed a straũger to come in place whiche bare the same ar-
mes & enyn lyke of some gẽtylman of fraũce/or of some other
partyes/that semblably had borne of olde tyme his predeces-
sours/he sholde not do wronge to noo body in this byhalfe
nor noo thinge myght not be said vnto him for the same/Jtt
the/iij/difference is of the armes that dayli be founde nelbe
atte bille/as whan it falleth hapli oftentimes/that fortune
enhaunceth men att her owne plaisir/that they that be of
right lolbe degree comen to highe astate whiche thynge some
tyme happeth: by the suffisaũce of the persones/other in fayt
of armes/or in scyence/woysedom/or coũseyll/or by some other
vertue that they haue/Soo it is not cuyl employed to them
that be worthy therof by noblesse of vertue/the whiche whan
they see hem self brought to highe astate/they take armes att
theyre owne wylle and suche a deuyse as them plaiseth wher
of some grounde and foũded the same vpon theyre name/as
one that is called petit hamer/he shall take one/two or thre
hamers for his armes/And as another called John pye/he
shal in likewise sett the figure of certeyne pies vpon a sheld
for his armes/& thus dyuersli of other deuises/as it plaiseth
hemself best/& the heyres that afterward shall descende & come
of him/shall bere euermore the same/& by thys maner of
waye ben armes first founde and taken/

¶ In what maners may a gentylman chalenge another
for armes/ ¶ Capitulo / xxj

Now telle me that I may vnderstãde I putte cas that my fader haue take for his plesir in his armes a bẽ de of goules with thre sterres of golde aboue thesame/or sõ me otherthinge/and that another man whiche is of noo sub le to my fader had tak semblable armes / myght this man thẽne bere hem by right without gainsayng of eny chalenge I ãsuere the that the maistrs of the lawes makeñ vpon the same suche a questyon/that yf a man or a lynage had take ñ newe armes sith that openly he had borne hem/ and that it happed soo that another man of the towne or namely of the countrey of wherns that other man or lynage were of/ wold take or had takeñ hem/it were noo raysoñ/but they ought to abyde styl to hym or them that first sette hem vp/ nor thẽ lor de of the place/ yf eny complaynte be made therof vnto hym/ oughte not to suffre thesame/ For suche armes ben were founde for to knowe a dyfference amonge the folke/ & other wyse there were noo dyfference/ but rather a confusion/ & it appertayneth not to the prynce nor to his iustice for to suf fre that his subgettes shal wrong nor doo shame to eche other And to doo suche a thing/ that is to wite to take the armes that another hathe taken a fore / hit shuld seme as a des pysing doñ for a despyt for a ryote or noyse to begynne one vpon another/ nowe maister yet wold I be answered of ano ther maner of debate that myght wel com/a gentylman of al mayne cometh to parys for to vysyte the kyng & see the ma nere of his court/ where he doo fynde another gentylman that bereth thesame propre armes that he & they of his kynrede bere/ the whiche thing the said almayn wyl chalenge but the frẽshman answereth that he hath not fouden them of late but that his antecessours of old tyme had & yet dyde bere them/ The almayn saith that his lynage is more auncyent than the frenshmannis kynred/ and therfore ought the sayde armes

to be his owone and not the Frenshmans/And that more is by cause that the frenshman sayth ayenst the same & denyeth hit/the almayn answereth/that he wool vpon this quarell fight with him/& casteth in dede his gage to him therfore in presence of the kynge/soo askie I of the yf this almayn hath a good quarell/& whether the kynge by the ryght of armes ought to iuge herupon the champ of bataille/In gode feyth my loue if/for this cause shuld a batayll be iuged/noo right accordeth not therunto/& ynoughe euydent is the rayson wher fore/for what domage nor dysworshyp can come to the almayn/yf a frenshman that his not of the countrey borne yf he is of and that are not bothe vnder one lorde/here suche armes as he dooth/syn that they be namely of olde tyme hys owone wherefore thenne nor by what rayson ought he to chalenge the same/Certes herto bilongeth noo batayll to be iuged nor no maner of ryght nother/but that eyther of them two shal kepe still that that he hathe/I saye not that yf it happed to a kynyght or man of armes of Fraūce or of som other lāde thrughe falle dysshemulacyon that that were a man lyuyng an euyll lyffe a grete theef or man sleer/to take the armes of a kynyght of almayne/with the whiche he shulde goo in to bourgoyne or in lorrayne for to take his preye & to sette hors ses on a fyre there/and robbyng folkie by the waye/without fayll the almayn shulde haue noo euyl cause for to chalēge his armes from suche a man/but schold his quarel be iuste & good/But noone other batayll were not for to be Juged ayenst this euyll man/but onely the hangyng of his body on a gybet/For it were not ryght that a good man shulde putte hym self in parel/ayenst another that euydently were knowen crymynal and lyuyng an yl lyffe/and for this cause to take the armes of another as his owone men myght

be punyſſhed by ryght in dyuerſe Voiſe/ For yf a ſouldyour of ſimple lygnage of almayne or of ſom other lande/ ſhulde co me in to fraunce for to take the kynges Voages in his Voer: res that ſhulde here the armes of ſom auncyent kinyght of his countrey/ of Vohos predeceſſours after the renommee/ Voere acuſtomed to com ryght gode men of armes/ and forto be the more Vorſhiped and more ſett by and for to haue bet: ter aſtate/ had takien the ſaid armes/ It is noo doubte/ that yf ſuche a thynge cam to kinoVolege/ and that the kynrede ſhuld reclame of Vorong doon to them/ he Voere or ought to be by ryght punyſhed therfore likeVoyſe as he that ſhuld cõtrefet the ſigne of a tabellyon or notarye/ or as a marchaunt that ſhulde countrefete the marke of another marchaũt/ & lyk Voi ſe of ſuche other thinges/ for yf ſuche athynge Voere ſuffred infynyt baractes and decaytes myght be doo Vndre colourc of theſame/

¶ Deuyſeth here of the armes and renonceilles and of the armoirie ¶ Capitulo/ xVij/

By cauſe that Voe be entred in this matyere/ & that thou haſt remembred me of the baners and armes of the grete lordes I ſhall telle the of thoo colours that men repu: ten and takien for the moſt highe mooſt ryche and moſt no ble/ For amonge hem is a differencc of nobleſſe/ for cauſe of the repreſentacyon that either of hem doon after his natu re/ Soo holde the maiſters of the laVe of armes/ that the co lourc of gold is the mooſt ryche/ And the rayſon is/ bicauſe that the gold of his nature is Veray clere & reſplendiſhyng Vertuouſe and comforteyng/ ſoo that the maſter of phiſique doo gyue hit for a ſoueryne reconfort to a man debylyted & nyghe dede and Voith this the golde repreſenteth the ſonne Vohiche is a right noble lumynarye/ And the laVe ſaith that

there is nothinge more noble / than is clarete & light / & for this excellence saith the scripture that the iuste & holy persone is like the gold & the sonne / & by cause that the golde of hys proprietie is likened to the sonne / the auncient lawes dyde ordeyne that noman shulde were gold / but that he were a prynce Soo is thene the colour of gold moost noble / Itē the secōd colour is purpre that we calle red Whiche representeth the fire / soo is the fire moost shynyng in his naturell cours after ỹ sonne & the moost noble of all / iiij / elementē for the whyche the noblenes semblably dide ordeyne the lawes ỹ noone shuld were red that betokeneth hyghnesse / but onely ỹ prynces / Itē the / iij / noble colour is azure / Whiche by his figure repreſenteth the ayer the Whiche after the fire is the moost noble of other elementē / for hit is in his cours penetring subtyl & able to receyue the luminose influences / Itē the / iiij / colour is White that men calle in armoyrye siluer / the Whiche colour of White is the moost noble of all them that folowe after for hit is more next to the shynyng cours / & With this hit signifyeth innocencie & clenlines / & the scripture saith that the vestementē of Jhu Crist dide seme to his apostles White as snowe / & this colour of White repreſenteth ỹ watre Whiche after the ayer is moost noble / Itē that other colour is blak that men calle in armoyrie sable / that representeth the other & betokeneth sowowe for it is ferder from the lyght more than eny of the other be / & therfore Was fou̅de / that in tokien of sowowe blak raymentē shuld appertayne to the sowfull & be up / so is hit the moost lowe & moost hūble colour that is / & therfore it Was ordeyned ỹ religiouse shuld weueste & clothe hemself of thesame / Itē that other colour of armoyrie is grene that men calle sinople or Verte Whiche betokeneth Wodes feldes & medowes / and because it is not represented to noon

of the foure elementȝ it ſhuld be taken for the laſſe noble/ &
of thees ſeuen colours are dyfferenced all maner of armes
penoncelles and baners by dyuerſe deuyſes taken by hault-
neſſe fro the tyme ryght auncyent/

¶ Explicit

¶ Thus endeth this boke whiche ꝯpyne of pyſe made & dre
we out of the boke named Vegecius de re militari & out of
thaubre of bataylles wyth many other thynges ſett in to the
ſame requiſite to werre & batailles whiche boke cxyng in frẽ
ſhe was delyuered to me William Caxton by the moſt cryſten
kynge & redoubted prynce my naturel & ſouerayn lord kyng
henry the/vij/ kyng of englond & of fraunce in his palays of
weſtmeſtre the/xxiij/ day of Janyuere the/iiij/ yere of his re
gne & deſired & wylled me to tranſlate this ſaid boke & reduce
it in to our engliſh & natural tonge/& to put it in enprynte
to thende that euery gentylman born to armes & all maner
men of werre captayns/ſouldiours/bytayllers & all other
ſhold haue knowlege how they ought to behaue theym in the
fayttes of warre & of bataylles/and ſo delyuered me the ſaid
book thẽne my lord therle of Oxenford alwaytȝ on his ſaid
grace/whiche volume conteynyng four bokes/I receyued of
his ſaid grace & accordȝ to his deſire whiche to me I repute
a comandemẽt/& verily glad to obeye/& after the lityl cõnyng
that god hath lente mẽ I haue endeuoyrd me to the vttereſt
of my power to fulfylle & accõpliſſhe his deſire & comaunde-
ment/as well to reduce it in to englyſſhe/as to put it in enpri
te/to thende that it may come to the ſight & knowlege of eue
ry gentylman & man of warre/& for certayn in myn oppin
on it is as neceſſary a boke & as requyſite/as ony may be for
euery eſtate hye & lowe that entende to the fayttes of werre

Whether it be in bataylles sieges/rescowsse/& all other fayttes subtyltees & remedyes for meschieues/Whiche translacyon was fynysshed the/viij/ day of Juyll the sayd yere & enpryn ted the/xviij/day of Juyll next folowyng & ful fynysshyd/ thē ne syth I haue obeyed his most dredeful comaūdement/I hū bly beseche his most excellent & bounteuous hyeues to pardo; ne me of this symple & rude translacion Where in be no cury ous ne eyape termes of rethoryk/but I hope to almighti god that it shal be entendyble & vnderstanden to euery man/& al so that it shal not mocke Varye in sētence fro the copye receyued of my said souerayn lord/And Where as I haue erryd or made defaulte I beseche them that fynde suche to correcte it & so doyng I shal praye for them/& yf ther be ony thīg ther in to his pleasir/I am glad & thinke my labour Wel emplo; yed for to haue the name to be one of the litel seruantes to the hieste & most cristen kyng & prince of the Worlde/Whom I by seche almyghty god to preserue/kepe/& contynue in his noble & most redoubted enterpryses as Wel in bretayn/ flaūdres & other placis that he may haue victorie honour/& renōmee to his perpetual glorye/ For I haue not herd ne redde that ony pryncr hath subdued his subgettis With lasse hurte & ē and also holpen his neighbours & frendis out of this londe/In Whyche hye enterprises I beseche almyghty god that he may remayne alleWay victoryous/And dayly encrease fro ver tu to vertue & fro better to better to his laude & honour in this present lyf/that after thys short & transitorye lyf/he may at; teyne to euerlastyng lyf in heuen/ Whiche god graunte to hym and to alle his lyege peple AMEN/

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

Per Caxton